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WANG AN SHIH.

A REJECTED REFORMER.

BY

H.R. WILLIAMSON. M.A., (Chinese). Lond.,

Rev. 1932

NOTES ON THE M/S.S.



Shantung Christian University,

Tsinanfu

Shantung

H. Chua.

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PREFACE.

PH.D 1932

This is an attempt to give to western readers a fuller and more detailed account of the life and work of Wang An Shih than is at present available. The writer's interest in the subject was aroused first by references made by different ^{historians} commentators on his socialistic views, and then by the impression gained from Chinese scholars and more recent Chinese literature that historians have dealt unjustly with his character and policy.

As far as the writer's knowledge goes, very little has been written in English upon the subject. There are two valuable articles by Dr J.G. Ferguson in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. One of these is entitled "Wang An-Shih (in Vol. XXXV.) and the other "Political Parties of the Northern Sung Dynasty" (in Vol. LVIII.) There is also an admirable sketch of Wang An Shih's career in "Makers of Cathay" by C.W. Allan. But these are short articles and of necessity limited in scope and general in character, so that there still seemed need for a more detailed and comprehensive study of the subject. Hence the undertaking of the present work.

In this it has been the writer's purpose to recount the chief incidents in the life of Wang An Shih, to trace his rise to power, to outline the various political measures which he introduced during his term of high office, to sketch the course and fate of his policy as a whole, to estimate his character and the value of his public work, and to give some idea of the quality and extent of his literary labours.

Chinese sources, have, in the main, been adopted as the basis of this study. The accounts of Wang An Shih and his policy which are found in the "Dynastic Histories" (二十四史) and in the "T'ung Chien Kang Mu" (資治通鑑綱目) of Chu Hsi (朱熹) are now generally acknowledged to be biased against him, and betray their prejudices on almost every page. ^{But} these ~~however~~ have been carefully read, and large sections translated. It was however necessary that the evidence afforded by these works should be sifted and weighed, in order to give the reader a more accurate account than could be gained by a mere surface reading of them.

This has been made possible by the existence of two other works in Chinese which are definitely of a critical character. The more important of these is that published by Ts'ai Shang Hsiang (蔡上翔) in 1804. It is styled "Wang Ching Kung Nien P'u K'ao Lieh" (王荊公年譜考畧). To this critical study of the traditional accounts of Wang An Shih, Ts'ai devoted many years of his lone life, (it was published by him at the age of 83) and he has done more than any other single scholar to restore the reformer to his just place in the estimation of his countrymen. From this great work, (which was formerly very scarce and difficult to obtain, but thanks to the interest of the Chinese department of Yenching University, has recently been reprinted,) Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, a modern scholar of great repute, drew largely for the composition of his "Life of Wang An Shih" which is the second of the works referred to above. This is found in his collected writings, styled "Yin Ping Shih Ts'ung Chu" (飲水室叢著) published in 1916, and supplements the work of Ts'ai by adding critical material on the policy and literary work of Wang An Shih.

Both these works have been freely used in the compilation of this treatise, and the writer hereby acknowledges his great indebtedness to their authors.

Preface. 2.

Wang An Shih, generally speaking, has been discredited as a statesman, but attained to considerable fame as a writer, both of poetry and prose. Fortunately his works have been preserved, and it is some indication of the revival of interest which has taken place in his recent years in his life and work that several editions of his writings have been issued from the press since the inauguration of the Chinese Republic. The edition of his complete works which has been consulted in the preparation of this book, is styled "Wang Lin Ch'uan Ch'uan Chi" (王臨川全集) published by the Sao Yeh Shan Co., in 1918. This edition consists of eight volumes of poetry and sixteen of prose, and claims to be substantially the same as the editions published during the Sung dynasty. A separate edition of his poetry, with the commentary of Li Yen Hu (李雁湖) which is styled the "Wang Ching Wen Kung Shih" (王荊文公詩), published recently by the Commercial Press, has also been used. This claims to be a reprint of the Mongol edition as issued by the "Ch'ing Ch'ing Chai" (清綺齋). It consists of fifty volumes. The commentary contains much valuable information of a critical and interesting character.

It has been said above that Wang An Shih, as a statesman, has been discredited by the majority of his countrymen. In that capacity he was rejected by his powerful contemporaries, and he has been either maligned or neglected, with some notable exceptions, by later generations of Chinese writers. More recently however, students of political economy in China have been giving considerable attention to his theories of government, and there are many signs that both the name and works of Wang An Shih are being rescued from the oblivion in which they have been allowed to lie for so long.

The writer is convinced, from such study of the subject as has been possible, that Wang An Shih was a sincere and earnest man, who brought great gifts of mind and soul to the solving of his country's political problems, and that he laboured to the utmost of his powers to save and strengthen the nation in a time that was peculiarly difficult, and against tremendous odds. His political views were far ahead of his times, and he was greatly hampered in his attempts at reform by the lack of men of like mind and kindred spirit. ^{The first of} These factors contributed in large measure to his failure to win the support of his influential contemporaries, ^{the second} and accounts to a considerable extent for the ^{refection} ~~failure~~ of his policy after a comparatively short period of time. Though as a reformer he may be said to have failed to attain to his ultimate objective, his efforts were so noble and disinterested, and of such influence, as to merit a much more worthy record than the ^{present} writer has been able to produce. However the obvious imperfections of this work will perhaps be overlooked if it be regarded as the writer himself looks upon it, namely, as paving the way for ~~more~~ ^{more} abler minds to present to the world ^{more} accurate and just account of the character and work of ^{Wang An Shih whom I have styled} "A Rejected Chinese Reformer."

As this work is based principally on Chinese sources of information, it goes without saying that the help of interested and able Chinese scholars has been indispensable to its production. In this connection prime honour is due to the Rev. Sun P'eng Hsiang, who has rendered invaluable help in the translation of Chinese texts, and in hunting up the thousand and one references which are essential to a work of this kind. Thanks also are due to Professor Luan T'iao Fu, of the Shantung Christian University, whose specialised knowledge and sympathetic interest has contributed to the elucidation of many

Preface.3.

a difficult passage. I am indebted also ~~the~~ to my honoured friend and colleague Dr. J. P. Bruce M.A., for guidance in the selection of the subject, and last, but not least, to my wife, who has worked laboriously at the correction of the manuscript.

H. R. Williamson.

Tsinanfu, Shantung.
E. China.

June 30th 1931.

1927-1928. Chief of the Office of the Chinese Republic, 1927-1928.

- I. General.
- II. The Office.
- III. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- IV. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- V. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- VI. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- VII. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- VIII. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- IX. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- X. The Office of the Chinese Republic.

1929-1930. Chief of the Office of the Chinese Republic, 1929-1930.

- I. General.
- II. The Office.
- III. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- IV. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- V. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- VI. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- VII. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- VIII. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
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- XVII. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- XVIII. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
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- XXIV. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- XXV. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- XXVI. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- XXVII. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- XXVIII. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- XXIX. The Office of the Chinese Republic.
- XXX. The Office of the Chinese Republic.

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Dynastic Table of the Sung Dynasty.
A.D. 960-1278.

NORTHERN SUNG.

Emperor.	Accession.	Title of reign.	Date adopted.
T'ai Tsu.	(太祖) 960.	Chien Lung. (建隆) Ch'ien Te. (乾德) K'ai Pao. (開寶) T'ai P'ing. (太平)	960. 963. 968. 976.
T'ai Tsung.	(太宗) 976.	Hsing Kuo. (興國) Yung Hsi. (雍熙) Tuan Kung. (端拱) Shun Hua. (淳化) Chih Tao. (至道)	976. 984. 988. 990. 995.
Chen Tsung.	(真宗) 998.	Hsien P'ing. (咸平) Ching Te. (景德) Ta Chung. (大中) Hsiang Fu. (祥符) T'ien Hsi. (天禧)	998. 1004. 1008. 1008. 1017.
Jen Tsung.	(仁宗) 1023.		
Ying Tsung.	(英宗) 1064.		
Shen Tsung.	(神宗) 1068.		
Che Tsung.	(哲宗) 1036.		
Hui Tsung.	(徽宗) 1101.		
Ch'in Tsung.	(欽宗) 1126.		

SOUTHERN SUNG.

Kao Tsung.	(高宗) 1127.	Chien Yen. (建炎) Shao Hsing. (紹興)	1127. 1131.
Hsiao Tsung.	(孝宗) 1163.	Lung Hsing. (隆興) Ch'ien Tao. (乾道) Shun Hsi. (淳熙) Shao Hsi. (紹熙)	1163. 1165. 1174. 1190.
Wang Tsung.	(光宗) 1190.		
Yung Tsung.	(寧宗) 1195.		
Ti Tsung.	(理宗) 1225.		
Mu Tsung.	(度宗) 1265.		
Kung Ti.	(恭帝) 1275.		
Tuan Tsung.	(端宗) 1276.		
Ti Ping.	(帝昀) 1278.		

From the date of Wang An Shih's birth to removal of capital to Sout

Emperor.	Title of reign.	Year.	Date.	Emperor.	Title of reign.	Year.	Date.
Chen 真宗 Taung.	T'ien Hsi. (天禧)	5th.	1021.	Shen Taung.	Hsi Ning. (熙寧)	7th.	1074.
	Ch'ien Hsiang. (乾興)	1st.	1022.			8th.	1075.
Jen 仁宗 Taung.	T'ien Sheng. (天聖)	1st.	1023.			9th.	1076.
		2nd.	1024.			10th.	1077.
		3rd.	1025.		Yuan Feng. (元豐)	1st.	1078.
		4th.	1026.			2nd.	1079.
		5th.	1027.			3rd.	1080.
		6th.	1028.			4th.	1081.
		7th.	1029.			5th.	1082.
		8th.	1030.			6th.	1083.
		9th.	1031.			7th.	1084.
	Ming Tao. (明道)	1st.	1032.			8th.	1085.
		2nd.	1033.	Chen 哲宗 Taung.	Yuan Yu. (元祐)	1st.	1086.
	Ching Yu. (景祐)	1st.	1034.			2nd.	1087.
		2nd.	1035.			3rd.	1088.
		3rd.	1036.			4th.	1089.
		4th.	1037.			5th.	1090.
	Pao Yuan. (寶元)	1st.	1038.			6th.	1091.
		2nd.	1039.			7th.	1092.
	K'ang Ting. (康定)	1st.	1040.			8th.	1093.
	Ch'ing Li. (慶曆)	1st.	1041.		Shao Sheng. (紹聖)	1st.	1094.
		2nd.	1042.			2nd.	1095.
		3rd.	1043.			3rd.	1096.
		4th.	1044.			4th.	1097.
		5th.	1045.		Yuan Fu. (元符)	1st.	1098.
		6th.	1046.			2nd.	1099.
		7th.	1047.			3rd.	1100.
		8th.	1048.	Hui Taung.	Chien Chung. (建中)	1st.	1101.
	Huang Yu. (皇祐)	1st.	1049.		Ching Kuo. (靖國)	1st.	1101.
		2nd.	1050.		Ts'ung Ning. (崇寧)	1st.	1102.
		3rd.	1051.			2nd.	1103.
		4th.	1052.			3rd.	1104.
		5th.	1053.			4th.	1105.
	Chieh Ho. (至和)	1st.	1054.			5th.	1106.
		2nd.	1055.		Ta Kuan. (大觀)	1st.	1107.
	Chia Yu. (嘉祐)	1st.	1056.			2nd.	1108.
		2nd.	1057.			3rd.	1109.
		3rd.	1058.			4th.	1110.
		4th.	1059.		Cheng Ho. (政和)	1st.	1111.
		5th.	1060.			2nd.	1112.
		6th.	1061.			3rd.	1113.
		7th.	1062.			4th.	1114.
		8th.	1063.			5th.	1115.
						6th.	1116.
Ying 英宗 Taung.	Chih P'ing. (治平)	1st.	1064.		Ch'ung Ho. (重和)	7th.	1117.
		2nd.	1065.		Hsuan Ho. (宣和)	1st.	1118.
		3rd.	1066.			2nd.	1120.
		4th.	1067.			3rd.	1121.
						4th.	1122.
						5th.	1123.
						6th.	1124.
						7th.	1125.
Jen 神宗 Taung.	Hsi Ning. (熙寧)	1st.	1068.		Ching K'ang. (靖康)	1st.	1126.
		2nd.	1069.				
		3rd.	1070.				
		4th.	1071.				
		5th.	1072.				
		6th.	1073.				

Biographical Table of Wang An Shih, according to Chan Ya Ho.

Year.	Event.
1021.	Born.
1038.	Accompanies his father to the capital, from Shao Chow.
1039.	Father dies.
1042.	Gains "Chin Shih" degree. Appointed to Yang Chow as Under-secretary to Military Yamen.
1046.	Appointed to Chin Hsien, as District Magistrate.
1051.	Appointed to Shu Chow as prefect, after refusing to sit for the "kuan chih" examination.
1053.	Refuses position in Imperial Censorate, for which he had been recommended by Ou Yang Hsin, on the grounds of his grandmother's advanced age. Grandmother dies.
1054.	Appointed to concurrent posts of Redactor of the Chi Hsien Library and Assistant Superintendent of the Imperial Stud.
1056.	Appointed magistrate of the ^{one} of the "hsien" in the capital Circuit. note vol. 18, p. 14
1057-3.	Appointed to Ch'ang Chow, as prefect.
1060.	Appointed Chief-Justice of the Chiang-Tung Circuit. (提點江東刑獄)
1060-1.	Takes up appointment in Accounts Department of Board of Finance. Appointed Librarian of the Chi Hsien Library.
1062.	Keeper of the Emperor's Diary. (同修起居注) Writer of edicts. (知制誥) Secretary of the Board of Works. (工部郎中) Inspector of Justice at the capital. (糾察在京刑獄) Head of Imperial Bodyguard. (personal). (管幹三班院)
1063.	Death of the emperor Jen Tsung, succeeded by Ying Tsung. Death of Wang An Shih's mother in the 8th month. Wang An Shih in mourning for three years.
1066.	Refuses appointment at the capital, but appeals for an appointment at Chiang-Ning Fu.
1067.	Death of the emperor Ying Tsung, and accession of Shen Tsung. Appointed Governor of Chiang-Ning-Fu, in the 3rd intercalary month. Appointed Literary Councillor in the 9th month.
1068.	Accepts the appointment of Literary Councillor, proceeding to the capital in the 4th month of this year. Appointed Expositor of the Literary Council.
1069.	2nd month. Appointed vice-Grand Councillor of State (參知政事) with status of Advisor to the Legislative Assembly. (右諫議大夫)
1070.	Threatens to resign on account of opposition in the 2nd month, but resumes his post on being reassured of the emperor's favour. 12th month. Appointed Grand Councillor of State. (同中書門下平章事) and Grand Councillor of the Board of History. (史館大學士)
1071.	3rd month. In sole power in the Grand Council.
1072.	5th month. Once more threatens to resign, but is persuaded to resume his office.
1074.	4th month. Resigns from position of Grand Councillor, and is transferred to Chiang Ning Fu as Governor.
1075.	2nd month. Recalled from Chiang Ning Fu to resume position as Grand Councillor of State. (平章事) and Grand Councillor of the Chao Wen Kuan. (昭文館大學士) Promoted to Left Imperial Bodyguard (左僕射) and Presidency of the Men Hsi Sheng (門下侍郎) on completion of his New Interpretation of the Classics. Death of his son Fang.
1076.	10th month. Retires from position of Grand Councillor, and is appointed Imperial Commissioner for Chiang Ning Fu. (以使相鎮金陵)

- | Year. | Event. |
|-------|---|
| 1076. | Resigns executive responsibilities for the Governorship of Chiang Ning Fu, and after being commissioned as Right Imperial Bodyguard (右僕射) resigns all executive responsibilities and is appointed Warden of the Hui Ling Kuan (會靈觀使) a sinecure, carrying with it certain emoluments by way of pension. |
| 1077. | Granted honorary title of 'K'ai Fu I T'ung San Sau' (開府儀同三司) and invested as Duke of Shu (舒國公) which later by special decree was altered to Duke of Ching (荊國公) also given title of 'Te Chin' (特進) |
| 1078. | Appointed Warden of the Chi Hsi Kuan (集禧觀使) with honorary rank of Grand Scholar of the Kuan Wen Tien. (觀文殿大學士) |
| 1082. | Dictionary completed and presented. (字說成進) Some time prior to this he had been given additional rank of 'Sheng Chu Kuo' (上柱國) which was now prefixed to his old title of 'Ching Kuo Kung' (荊國公) |
| 1083. | Winter. Ill. |
| 1084. | Spring. Offers his residence for use as a temple, and his lands for support of a monastery. Rents a house in Chiang Ning Fu. |
| 1085. | Death of Shen Tsung in the 3rd month and is succeeded by Che Tung. Offered appointment as Minister of Works, which is refused on grounds of ill health. |
| 1086. | 4th month. Dies. Posthumous title of 'T'ai Fu' (太傅) or 'Grand Tutor' conferred upon him. |

Biographical Table as given by Ts'ai Shang Hsiang. (Luan Yang)

Year.	Event.
1021.	Wang An Shih born. (According to one authority, Wu Jung Kuang, (吳榮光) on the 12th of the 11th month.)
1030.	Father appointed to Shao Chow.
1033.	Returns with father from Shao Chow to Lin Ch'uan.
1036.	Accompanies father to the capital.
1037.	Father appointed to Chiang Ning as assistant-prefect.
1039.	Father dies on the 13th of the 2nd month, aged 46 at Chiang Ning.
1042.	Gains degree of Chin Shih, in the 3rd month. Appointed to Yang Chow as secretary.
1043.	Returns home on leave.
1045.	Tseng Kung recommends Wang An Shih to Ou Yang Hsiu.
1046.	Visits the capital. (probably on completion of his term at Yang-Chow.)
1047.	Appointed as magistrate of Chin Hsien.
1048.	Gains leave of absence to bury his father.
1049.	Still at Chin Hsien.
1050.	Returns to Lin Ch'uan. (There is an inscription by his hand in the district dated the 25th of the 5th month of this year.)
1051.	Commanded to take the "kuan chih" examination, but appeals for delay. Death of eldest foster-brother, Ch'ang Fu. Appointed to Shu Chow as prefect. (local inscription, 16th of 9th month.)
1052.	Still at Shu Chow.
1053.	Still at Shu Chow. Death of grandmother Hsieh. (謝)
1054.	Offered appointment as redactor of the Chi Hsien Library. (first refusal dated the 22nd of the 3rd month.)
1056.	In office in the Imperial Stud.
1057.	Magistrate of Ch'ang Chow. Appointment altered to that of Chief-Justice of the Chiang-Tung circuit.
1058.	Submits the memorial of a myriad characters.
1059.	Still holds the Chiang-Tung appointment as Chief-Justice.
1060.	Appointed to the Ministry of Finance in the 5th month.
1061.	Secretary to the Edicts Board in the 6th month. Submits the memorial on current affairs. (時政疏) His brother Wang An Li gains his Chin Shih degree in the 3rd month.
1062.	Still secretary to the Edicts Board.
1063.	Death of mother in the 8th month at the capital.
1064.	In mourning for his mother at Chiang Ning.
1065.	On the completion of two years' mourning called to take up appointment at the court of Ying Tsung, but refuses. (Date of proffered commission 27th of 7th month.)
1066.	Still at Chiang Ning without appointment.
1067.	Death of Ying Tsung in the 1st month, and accession of Shen Tsung. Wang Fang (son) gains his Chin Shih degree in the 2nd month, and is appointed to Ching Te Chun. Wang An Shih appointed Governor of Chiang Ning in the 3rd intercalary month. Appointed Literary Councillor in the 9th month.
1068.	Admitted to Imperial Audiences by special decree in the 4th month. Submits memorial on A Century of Peace. (百年無事劄子) Brother Wang An Kuo gains Chin Shih degree in the 7th month.

Ts'ai Shang Hsiang's biographical table. (cont. 2.)

1069. Appointed vice-Grand-Councillor in the 2nd month.
Appointed with Ch'en Sheng Chih to draw up the regulations for financial reorganisation. (also in the 2nd month).
Submits the memorial of warning. (進戒疏) 5th month.
Lü Hui submits memorial of indictment. 6th month.
1070. Still vice-Grand Councillor.
Threat to resign in the 3rd month, but resumes post.
Appointed Grand Councillor, together with Han Chiang in the 12th month.
Appointed Imperial Historiographer.
1071. Still Grand Councillor.
Brother An Kuo promoted to hierarchy. (kuan chih) (館職)
Wang Fang appointed Tutor to Heir-apparent and Imperial Expositor
1072. Still Grand Councillor.
Submits the memorial on Five Matters. (五事劄子)
1073. Still Grand Councillor.
Bureau for New Classical Interpretation set up with Wang An Shih in charge, assisted by his son Fang and Lü Hui Ch'ing. (3rd month)
Receives gift of jewelled belt from emperor on celebration of Hsi Ho victory. (10th month).
1074. Still Grand Councillor.
Resigns in the 4th month and appointed as governor of Chiang Ning
Death of brother Wang An Kuo on the 17th of 8th month.
1075. Recalled to old office of Grand Councillor in the 2nd month.
Promoted to Left Bodyguard and Presidency of Men Hsia Sheng in the 6th month.
Reappointed Imperial Historiographer in the 9th month.
Lü Hui Ch'ing transferred to Ch'en Chow in the 10th month.
Punitive Expedition against the Annamese launched in the 12th month.
1076. Death of son Fang in the 7th month.
Resigns office at the capital and is appointed as governor of Chiang Ning, in the 10th month.
1077. Appointed Warden of the Chi Hsi Kuan in the 6th month.
1078. Still Warden as above. Appointed Duke of the State of Shu (舒國公) with rank of Left Bodyguard of the Shang Shu Sheng.
1080. Granted honorary title of "K'ai Fu I T'ung San Ssu"
Invested as Duke of Ching State (荆國公) in 9th month.
Dictionary completed and presented.
1082. Wang An Li appointed to Grand Council as Shang Shu Yu Ch'eng, in the 4th month.
1083. Wang An Li promoted a further step, as Shang Shu Tso Ch'eng, in the 8th month.
Ts'ai Pien, son-in-law, appointed Expositor of Chow Li.
1084. Wang An Li transferred.
Wang An Shih offers residence for temple purposes, and land for use of monastery.
1085. Death of Shen Tsung in 3rd month. Succeeded by Che Tsung, under regency of Hsuan Jen, mother of Shen Tsung.
Honorary appointment of Minister of Works.
1086. Dies in 4th month.
Posthumous title of Grand Tutor conferred.

Biographical Table as given by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao.

Date.	Age.	Event.
1021.		Born.
1036-7.	16.	Accompanies father to the capital.
1039-40.	19.	Father dies.
1041-42.	21.	Gains "Chin Shih" degree.
1042.		Appointed to Huai-Nan (淮南) i.e. to Yang Chow. (楊州)
1047-9.	27.	Appointed to Chin Hsien as District Magistrate.
1051-2.		Finishes a four year appointment at Chin Hsien. (鄆縣)
1052-3.		Appointed to Shu Chow as prefect. (通判舒州)
1054.	34.	Offered appointment of Redactor of Chi Hsien Library. (集賢校理)
1056.	36.	Appointed to Imperial Stud as Assistant Superintendent. (群牧司判官)
1057.		Appointed to Ch'ang Chow as prefect, but this appointment altered to that of Chief-Justice of the Chiang Tung Circuit the same year. ⁶
1058.		Returns to capital to report, and sends in his memorial of a myriad words. (萬言書)
1059.		Chief Justice of Chiang Tung Circuit. (in office)
1060.		Appointed to Accounts Department of Board of Finance. ⁷
1061.	41.	Writer of Edicts, an office which he retained for three years. ⁸
1064.	44.	In residence at Chiang Ning Fu, mourning for his mother.
1067.		1st month, death of Ying Tsung and accession of Shen Tsung. 3rd month. Appointed Governor of Chiang Ning Fu. 9th month. Appointed Literary Councillor.
1068.	48.	4th month. As Literary Councillor given special privilege of attending Imperial audiences.
1069.		2nd month. Appointed vice-Grand Councillor.
1071.		Appointed Grand Councillor of State. ⁹
1074.		6th month. Resigns office at capital and appointed Governor of Chiang Ning Fu. ¹⁰
1075.		2nd month. Returns to capital and resumes post of Grand Councillor.
1076.	57.	6th month. Promoted to Left Imperial Bodyguard. 10th month. Resigns and returns to Chiang Ning Fu as Imperial Commissioner.
1078.	58.	Given honorary title of "K'ai Fu I T'ung San 'su" invested as Duke of Shu, and appointed Warden of the Chi Hsi Kuan. Appointed Duke of Ching. (荊國公)
1080.		3rd month. Death of Shen Tsung and accession of Che Tsung with the empress-dowager Hsuan Jen in regency.
1083.		Appointed Minister of Works.
1096.	66.	4th month. Wang An Shih dies. Posthumous title of "T'ai Fu" (太傅) conferred upon him.
1094-1097.	do.	do. "Wen" (文) conferred upon him.

OUTLINE OF THE REFORM POLICY.

Date.	Event.
1069. 2nd month.	Wang An Shih appointed vice-Grand Councillor.
1069. 2nd month.	Financial Reorganisation Bureau established, with Wang An Shih, Ch'en Sheng Chih, Lü Hui Ch'ing and Tseng Pu in charge.
1069. 4th month.	Commission of eight appointed to make tour of inspection of economic conditions throughout the country. This Commission included Ch'eng Hao.
1069. 6th month.	Wang An Shih impeached by Lü Hui.
1069. 7th month.	"Equitable Transport Measure" promulgated.
1069. 9th month.	"Agricultural Loans Measure" promulgated.
1069. 11th month.	Han Chiang succeeds Ch'en Sheng Chih in the Financial Reorganisation Bureau.
1069. 11th month.	Appointment of forty-one officials to supervise the operation of the New Laws in all districts.
1070. 1st month.	Ssu Ma Kuang appeals for abolition of the Financial Reorganisation Bureau, and for the abrogation of the Agricultural Loans Measure.
1070. 2nd month.	Ssu Ma Kuang refuses proffered appointment of vice-President of the Board of War.
1070. 3rd month.	Reforms in the Official Examination System instituted.
1070. 4th month.	Chao Pien (vice-Grand Councillor) resigns as a protest against the numerous retirements of important officials for their opposition to the Reform Policy. Han Chiang appointed in his place.
1070. 5th month.	Financial Reorganisation Bureau affiliated with the Board of Finance, and Lü Hui Ch'ing appointed as Head of the Revenue Office, under which the Financial Reorganisation Bureau would be placed.
1070. 5th month.	Authority for the appointment of military officials transferred to the Civil Affairs Legislative Assembly.
1070. 7th month.	Su Shih criticises the Reform Policy and is transferred to Hang Chow.
1070. 8th month.	Lü Hui Ch'ing resigns on account of mother's death. Ssu Ma Kuang transferred to Yung Hsing Chun.
1070. 10th month.	Ch'en Sheng Chih resigns on account of mother's death.
1070. 12th month.	Redistribution of Regular Army in different centres.
1070. 12th month.	"Militia Act" promulgated.
	Wang An Shih promoted to Grand Councillor.
	"Public Services Act" promulgated.
1071. 1st month.	Stocks of Kuang Hui Granary converted into capital fund for the operation of the Agricultural Loans Measure.
1071. 2nd month.	Revised regulations for the "Chin Shih" or D.Litt. examination promulgated.
	Wang An Shih in sole power in the Grand Council.
	Special Inspectorate set up to report on officials hindering the Reform Policy.
	Deepening of the Pien River started.
1071. 4th month.	Ssu Ma Kuang granted a Sinecure at Lo Yang.
1071. 5th month.	Corea sends tribute to the Chinese Court.
1071. 6th month.	Ou Yang Hsiu stops distribution of Agricultural Loans in Ch'ing Chow Fu, and eventually resigns all offices.
1071. 8th month.	Wang Yang, son of Wang An Shih, appointed as Teacher in the Imperial family.
1071. 10th month.	National University divided into three Departments.

Date.	Event.
1072. 1st month.	"Inquisition" Bureau set up, for the intimidation and control of recalcitrant officials.
1072. 3rd month.	"Trade and Barter" Measure promulgated.
1072. 5th month.	"Militia Mounts Measure" promulgated.
1072. 5th month.	Wang An Shih threatens to resign but is persuaded to stay on.
?	Wang An Shih presents his memorial of "Five Matters."
1072. 8th month.	T'ang Chung attacks Wang An Shih in Imperial presence.
1072. 8th month.	"Equitable Land Tax Measure" promulgated.
1072. 10th month.	Hsi Ho territory made a Circuit of the Empire.
1073. 3rd month.	"Bureau for editing new interpretation of the Classics" established, with Wang An Shih, Wang Fang, and Lü Hui Ch'ing in charge.
1073. 6th month.	Organisation of National Armaments Board at Wang Fang's suggestion.
1073. 9th month.	Celebration of Wang Shao's victory in the north-west.
1073. 10th month.	Trade ^{attribution} Guile Tax Measure" promulgated.
1073. 10th month.	Scheme for straightening Yellow River started.
1074. 3rd month.	Unification of Copper currency. (noted)
1074. 3rd month.	"Liao" or Iron Tartars send an embassy to discuss the northern boundary.
1074. 4th month.	Drought and incident of Cheng Hsieh.
	Temporary suspension of the various new Measures, followed by rain.
	Restoration of all new Measures with the exception of the Trade ^{attribution} Guile Tax Measure".
	Wang An Shih resigns from Grand Council, and is appointed as governor of Chiang Ning Fu.
	Han Chiang appointed Grand Councillor, and Lü Hui Ch'ing vice-Grand Councillor.
	Reform Policy maintained in all essentials ^{general} by the influence of these two.
1075. 2nd month.	Wang An Shih returns to his post as Grand Councillor.
	Second embassy from the Iron Tartars anent the northern boundary.
1075. 4th month.	Ch'en Sheng Chih transferred from Board of War to Yang Chow.
1075. 6th month.	New Interpretation of the Odes, History, and Chow Kuan, presented to the throne, and ordered to be used by the Educational Authorities.
1075. 7th month.	The demands of the Iron Tartars re northern boundary conceded.
1075. 8th month.	Han Chiang resigns on grounds of illness.
1075. 10th month.	Lü Hui Ch'ing transferred to Ch'en Chow.
	Appearance of comet causes consternation at Court, followed by numerous appeals that the New Laws should be rescinded.
	Wang An Shih threatens to resign, but is once more induced to stay on.
1075. 11th month.	Annamese invade China.
1075. 12th month.	Revision of Salt Regulations.
1076. 2nd month.	Punitive expedition against Annam ordered.
1076. 7th month.	Wang Fang attacks Lü Hui Ch'ing, who impeaches Wang An Shih.
1076. 8th month.	Edict issued forbidding sale of temple property.
1076. 10th month.	Wang An Shih resigns office at the capital, and returns to Chiang Ning Fu as Commissioner for civil and military affairs.

Date.	Event.
1085. 3rd month.	From this time to the death of Shen Tsung in the Reform Policy was maintained in its entirety, a period of over eight years. Shen Tsung's mother, Hsuan Jen, assumes the regency, as Che Tsung, the new emperor was only ten years of age on his accession.
1085. 3rd month.	Special Inspectorate abolished.
	Trade ^{Trade} Tax Measure rescinded.
	River Conservancy Bureau abolished.
1085. 4th month.?	Ssu Ma Kuang restored to power.
1085. 7th month.	"Militia Act" rescinded.
1085. 11th month.	"Equitable Land Tax Measure" rescinded.
	"Militia Mounts Measure" rescinded.
1085. 12th month.	"Trade and Barrier Measure" rescinded.
1086. 2nd month.	"Agricultural Loans Measure" rescinded.
1086. 3rd month.	"Public Services Act" rescinded.
	Bureau of Appeal established in the interests of officials who had suffered under previous regime.
1086. 4th month.	Hai Ho Finance Bureau abolished.
	Death of Wang An Shih.
	Mandate issued for revision of Educational System.
1086. 6th month.	Banishment of Teng Chien and Li Ting.
1086. 7th month.	Ssu Ch'uan Tea Monopoly abolished.
1086. 9th month.	Death of Ssu Ma Kuang.
1087. 1st month.	The New Interpretations of the Classics, and Wang An Shih's Dictionary put under the Imperial ban.
1088. 5th month.	Ts'ai Ch'ueh banished.
	From this time on the faction spirit becomes the most serious factor in government circles, the Loyang and Ssu Ch'uan parties being in constant conflict for power, with the party claiming loyalty to Wang An Shih's policy awaiting their opportunity to return.
1093. 9th month.	Death of the Regent Dowager Hsuan Jen.
	Che Tsung assumes the reins of government.
1093. 12th month.	Chang Ch'un and Lu Hui Ch'ing (Wang An Shih's party) restored to power.
1094. 2nd month.	Li Ch'ing Chen and Teng Jun Fu, also of Wang An Shih's party, appointed to the Grand Council.
1094. 3rd month.	Tseng Fu, also of Wang An Shih's party, recalled.
1094. 4th month.	Chang Shang Ying, also of Wang An Shih's party, recalled.
	Return to Court of Ts'ai Ching, "The Wobbler".
	Dynastic Title fixed as "Shao Sheng", or Revival of Shen Tsung's policy.
	Edict issued ordering the rewriting of the History of Shen Tsung's reign. Ts'ai Pien, son-in-law of Wang An Shih, commissioned for this work.
1094. 4th month.	"Ch'ang P'ing Granary Laws" revived as a semblance of the
intercalary.	Agricultural Loans Measure.
1094. 5th month.	Candidates for the Official examinations ordered to specialise in the meaning of the Classics.
1094. 6th month.	Ban lifted on Wang An Shih's Dictionary.
1094. 7th month.	Proscription of officials of Hsuan Jen's regime.
1094. 8th month.	Trade ^{Trade} Tax Measure revived.
1094. 12th month.	New History of Shen Tsung's reign, styled the "Vermilion Record" by Ts'ai Pien, presented.
	Banishment of editors of previous record.
1095. 2nd month.	"Militia Act" revived.

Date.	Event.
1096. 7th month.	Fan Tsu Yu' and Liu An Shih banished.
1097. 1st month.	Ssu Ma Kuang and associates, some living, some dead, degraded in rank and titles.
1097. 1st month.	Benishment of Lü Ta Fang, Liu Chih, Su Che, and Fan Ch'un Jen.
1097. 5th month.	Ch'eng I banished.
1097. 11th month.	"Trade and Barter Measure" revived.
1098.	Dynastic title changed to "Yuan Fu" on discovery of ancient seal.
1098. 3rd month.	Wen Yen Po's son imprisoned.
	Descendants of Liu Chih and Liang T'ao banished, the latter having died in prison banishment.
	"Sins of the fathers visited upon the children?"
	Chang Ch'un and Ts'ai Pien attempt to deprive the late Regent-dowager, Hsuan Jen, of her royal titles.
1098. 4th month.	Split between Chang Ch'un and Tseng Fu.
1099. 3rd month.	Treaty of Alliance between the Tanguts (Hsi Hsia) and the Iron Tartars. (Liao.)
1099.	"Inquisition" revived. 830 people punished.
1100. 1st month.	Death of Che Tsung, without heir.
	Tuan Wang, younger brother of Che Tsung, and son of Shen Tsung succeeds him, adopting the Imperial title of Hui Tsung.
1100. 11th month.	Dynastic title adopted as "Chien Chung" or "Establishment of Neutrality", indicative of purpose to eliminate the extreme faction spirit.
	Banished and defamed officials of previous regime restored to their homes and ranks.
	Chang Ch'un banished; Ts'ai Ching degraded, Ch'un cashiered.
	Ch'eng I restored.
1101. 11th month.	Ts'ai Ching restored.
	Dynastic title changed at the instigation of Tseng Fu to "Tsung Ning" or "Reverence for the regime of Shen Tsung and Wang An Shih."
1102. 5th month.	Ssu Ma Kuang and forty-three of his associates once more defamed. Over fifty officials of opposing regimes proscribed.
	Ts'ai Ching attains to supreme power after split with Tseng Fu, who is degraded.
1102. 8th month.	"Public Services Act" revived in different form.
1102. 9th month.	"Traitor's Tablet" set up, inscribed with names of 120 officials opposed to Reform Policy.
1103.	Revival of Tea Monopoly.
1103. 4th month.	Portraits of Ssu Ma Kuang and nine associates removed from the Ching Ling Tien.
	Salt Ticket Regulations revived.
	"Traitor's Tablet" ordered to be set up in each county.
1104. 4th month.	Officials ordered to report on the progress of Reform measures.
1104. 6th month.	Wang An Shih's tablet placed in Confucian temple.
	Stone tablet erected in the Ming T'ang at the capital, inscribed with the names of 309 "traitors".
1104. 7th month.	"Equitable Land Tax Measure" revived.
1105.	Ts'ai Ching and Ts'ai Pien part company, the latter being degraded.
1105. 5th month.	"Ban" lifted on descendants and relatives of the "traitors". Banished officials allowed to return and reside in the provinces, but not in the capital.

Date.	Event.
1106. 1st month.	Appearance of another comet. Emperor orders the "Traitors' Tablet" to be destroyed. Lifting of the ban on all "traitors", and all banished officials restored to favour. Suspension of the "Equitable Land Tax Measure".
1106. 2nd month.	Ts'ai Ching degraded.
1107. 1st month.	Ts'ai Ching restored.
1110.	Ts'ai Ching once more degraded.
1112.	Ts'ai Ching once more restored. "Equitable Land Tax Measure" revived.
1113.	Wang An Shih given title of "Wang" or "Shu Wang" (Prince of Shu.)
1120.	Ts'ai Ching again degraded.
1121.	"Equitable Land Tax Measure" rescinded.
1123.	Ts'ai Ching again restored.
1124. 12th month.	Ts'ai Ching in supreme power.
1125. 12th month.	The Golden Tartars ("Chin") advance into Chinese territory.
1126. 2nd month.	The Golden Tartars appear before the walls of K'ai Feng Fu, and return with Imperial family as hostages. Dictionary of Wang An Shih banned.
1126. 5th month.	Wang An Shih's tablet removed from Confusian temple.
1126. 7th month.	Ts'ai Ching banished to Chan Chow and dies on the way.
1127. 4th month.	Complete rout of the Sung by the Golden Tartars.
1127. 5th month.	The Sung capital transferred to the south.



CHINA AS DIVIDED IN THE TIME OF THE SOUTHERN SONG DYNASTY.

THE SUNG HISTORIES.

If the character and work of Wang An Shih is to be justly estimated, it is essential that some enquiry should be made into the character of the records upon which the traditional opinion of him is based.

The account of Wang An Shih's life and work, included in the 'Prolegomena' is taken from the Dynastic History of Sung. This was compiled at the end of the Mongol Dynasty, A.D. 1341, by T'o K'o T'o (托克托) or T'o T'o as he is sometimes called. The general opinion of the character of this History may be gleaned from the following quotations.

In the Index to the 'Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu' (四庫全書提要) we read

"The main object of the compilers of the History of Sung was to expound the teachings of the various schools of ethico-philosophical thought. Other matters were given scanty attention. Consequently the errors and defects are innumerable."

T'an Ts'ui (檀萃) of the time of Ch'ien Lung, A.D. 1736-96 writes:-

"The Sung Histories are extremely confused and of doubtful worth. They are full of unjust criticisms. For they bear the impress of the faction spirit of the period, which permeated the minds of the writers of the records from which the Mongols took their materials, to such an extent ^{that} the facts were deliberately warped and embellished, so as to ~~conceal~~ ^{impute} the faults of their own faction ^{and} to ~~impute~~ ^{conceal} guilt unjustly to their opponents."

Chao I (趙翼) also of the time of Ch'ien Lung, in his work entitled Hai Yu Ch'ung K'ao (陔餘叢考) gives numerous examples of the errors, omissions, mutual contradictions, and deliberate misrepresentations with which the Sung Histories abound, both in the general and biographical sections.

In the Index to the Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu reference is made to ~~the~~ attempts that were made to rectify the character of the Sung Histories, ^{so as} to give posterity a more reliable account on which to base their judgement. One was the work of Ko Wei Ch'i (柯維騏) of the time of Ch'ien Ching (嘉靖) A.D. 1522-67, who styled his book the 'Sung Shih Hsin Pien' (宋史新編) or New Edition of the Sung Histories. The other was from the pen of Shen Shih Po (沈世泊) who styled his work the 'Sung Shih Chiu Cheng Pien' (宋史就正編) or Corrected History of Sung.

Liang Ch'i Ch'ao and Ts'ai Shang Hsiang who have given great time and thought to the subject of Wang An Shih's life and work, concur in the opinion that the Sung Histories are woefully unreliable as a guide to his real character and achievements. They point out that the Mongol compilers of the History had no prejudices against Wang An Shih, but took no pains to ascertain the real facts, and merely adopted as the basis for their record the traditional and ready-to-hand materials.

What these were and their character will appear in the ensuing discussion. First we cannot do better than translate a section from Ts'ai Shang Hsiang's Preface to his Life of Wang An Shih, as follows:-

"Wang An Shih has been dead for seven hundred years. Those who first sought to vilify his memory based their detractions upon private sources of information. Once private sources of information had been adopted for the compilation of the Canonical History, many extraneous matters crept in, so that it has become practically impossible for any later investigator to correct the record completely.

He then quotes from a very interesting letter, written by Wang An Shih to an official resident at Shao Chow, (韶州) styled Chang Tien Ch'eng (張殿丞), as follows:-

"From the time of the three dynasties, each state kept its own historical records. The historiographers of those days were mostly from the same families generation after generation. There were frequent instances of such men sacrificing their lives in the course of their duty, preferring thus to suffer than to act in any way opposed to the high ideals of such an office. That accounts for the fact that their records can be regarded as trustworthy.

Later on, however, the various state historiographers ceased to function, and none but those of the highest positions and greatest influence, ^{as the Empire had been united} no matter how valorous, noble or useful their lives may have been, ~~if~~ if they had not received recognition by the Court, found their ways into the National histories.

What is still more deplorable is that the historiographers of recent times have all been drawn from official families. Now such men as these, ~~even in regard to~~ ⁱⁿ the public discussion of affairs at Court, when everyone has the opportunity to ~~to~~ express ~~their~~ ^{his own} point of view, and agree or disagree with what is said, dare to term the loyal as treacherous, and deliberately misrepresent facts, without fear of punishment or shame, being concerned merely to glut their own individual preferences and prejudices.

If they act ~~thus~~ ^{thus} in the open forum, what can be expected of them when they take up their pens and indite in secret their judgments of historical personages? They can so narrate facts, and so embellish them, as to make the reader doubt whether a really praiseworthy man ^{is} entitled to fame or not, or even wonder whether he ought not to be vilified. Those who are already dead have no means of redress, and those who remain alive have no means of arriving at the real truth of what is so cleverly narrated. So that ^{writers} they are able to prosecute their nefarious task ~~without fear~~ ^{without fear} of consequences. In such circumstances can it be expected that they will not practise deceit?"

This letter was written in reply to a note of appreciation of the work of Wang An Shih's father, during his term of office at Shao Chow. Chang Tien Ch'eng was living there at the time he wrote this message of appreciation, and expressed his regret that such distinguished work as his father had done there should not be put on record. Wang An Shih, in thanking the writer for his message, asserts that he is quite satisfied to have such an appreciation from an unbiased critic, and that ^{to him} it is a matter of no significance whatever whether his father finds a place in the histories or not.

These considerations lead him to expatiate on the character of historians in general, and of those of his day in particular.

Ts'ai Shang Hsiang says that the main idea of this letter, ^{of Wang An Shih} is truly prophetic of the treatment which later historians were to mete out to him, and continues:-

"It was the ancient practice for the historical records of one dynasty to be compiled by the historiographers of their successors, who in so doing, of necessity depended ^{for their material} upon such sources as were available. ~~for their materials~~. The Mongols compiled the history of the Sung Dynasty, but availed themselves solely of private sources of information in so doing. During the reign of Shen Tsung, when the reforms of Wang An Shih were first mooted, the Court simply "buzzed" with discussion. But discussion centred in the New Laws, and so there was a definite and ascertainable reason for the differences of opinion which were manifested.

When however we come to the times of Yuan Yu (元祐) i.e. the first half of Che Tsung's reign not only did the officials then in control completely abrogate the whole of the new Measures, but the calamitous spirit of faction and feud spread everywhere. And what was ^{particularly} ~~still more~~ deplorable was that at the time ^{where} Fan Tsu Yu (范祖禹) and Lu Ta Fang (呂大防) were drawing up the first record of Shen Tsung's reign, there also appeared the work of Shao Pei Wen (邵伯溫) entitled the "Wen Chien Lu" (聞見錄) the works of Ssu Ma Kuang entitled the "Wen Kung So Yu" (溫公瑣語) and the "Shu Shui Chi Wen" (涑水紀聞), together with the "Tung Hsien Pi Lu" (東軒筆錄) of Wei Tao Fu (魏道輔). All these Works were of a private character, drawn up with the idea of satisfying the private enmities and predilections of the writers, ^{and yet their opinions were not incorporated in the histories}

These Works were followed by the Vermilion History (朱墨史) of Fan Ch'ung (范冲) and the "Ch'ang Pien" (長編) of Li Jen Fu (李仁甫) both of which were of the type deplored by Wang An Shih (in his letter above) as being such as the dead could not appeal against, and the living could not discuss the real facts. ^{such works as we now call "history"} ~~that fact in itself is a serious cause of concern to later generations, but what is utterly surprising is that these writers make all the injury and sufferings of the country revert to Wang An Shih alone, even asserting that the loss of the northern part of the empire in the Sung times was due to him. Surely that is an exaggerated view of the case.~~

From the time the Sung Dynasty migrated to the south up to the initiation of the Mongol Dynasty, a period of some two hundred years, there arose a succession of reckless critics and calumniators, too numerous to mention. From the Mongol to the Mid-Ming times there were such as Chow Te Kung (周德恭) who affirmed that Shen Tsung was a personification of the infamous rulers of all history, and such as Yang Yung Hsiao (楊用修) who asserted that Wang An Shih was a combination of the notoriously wicked ministers of all time.

But prior to these was published the work ^{reputed to be by} Su Shih (蘇軾) entitled the "Wen Kuo Hsing Chuang" (溫國行狀) comprising more than 9,400 words, at least half of which is taken up with ~~antagonistic~~ criticism of Wang An Shih. (But this Work ostensibly was an account of the life and career of Ssu Ma Kuang) ^{so that quite apart from the fact that this type of composition was an absolute innovation} it is impossible to believe that it is the work of a man like Su Shih.

Later on in the Ming times there were writers like T'ang Ying Te (唐應德) who published his "Shih Ts'uan Tso Pien" (史纂左編) in which is included the biography of Wang An Shih comprising 26,500 words. Yet in all this there is not a single good thing recorded of him. Can such productions be discussed in the same ^{category} as "Historical" writings?

It is easy to see from the above account by Ts'ai Shang Hsiang that ^{he considers} the traditional ~~xxxxxxx~~ opinion of Wang An Shih which is embodied in the Dynastic History of Sung as compiled by the Mongols ^{is} based on a great deal of evidence emanating from the political enemies of Wang An Shih, and ^{that it} must therefore be so far discounted as being both partial and prejudiced. ^{that his opinion is not baseless} How that came about will appear from the following discussion on the compilation of the history of contemporaneous events in the reign of Shen Tsung.

First it is of importance to note that three attempts were made to compile the history of Shen Tsung's regime, and that each of these three attempts ^{was} directly related to Wang An Shih's political policy.

Shen Tsung died in 1085. He was succeeded by his son Che Tsung who was then only ten years old. Consequently his grandmother

Hsuan Jen, who had been opposed to Wang An Shih's policy, was appointed Regent. She recalled Ssu Ma Kuang, Wang An Shih's great political antagonist, to Court, and in the short space of a few months the whole of the New Measures were abrogated. It was at this period viz., the first year of Che Tsung's reign 1086, that the first attempt was made to record the history of Shen Tsung's reign.

The work of compilation was entrusted to Fan Tsu Yu (范祖禹) Huang T'ing Chien (黄庭坚) Lu Tien (陆佃) and others. It is evident that the latter was not of one mind with his colleagues as to the character of this record. This appears from an account of a discussion which is reported to have taken place between him and Huang T'ing Chien on the subject. ^{during which} the latter is reported to have said "According to your view of the matter we ought to produce 'Flattery' History (佞史). To this Lu Tien retorted, "And if we ^{regard to} have sole use of your point of view, the resultant will be (謗書) 'a 'Blasphemous' record'." Ts'ai Shang Hsiang affirms that the compilers of this record drew their materials in the main from the "Ssu Shui Chi Wen" (涑水紀聞) of Ssu Ma Kuang. As he was the arch-antagonist of Wang An Shih's policy it was inevitable that he should have recorded views of Wang An Shih and his work which were of a very unfavourable character. From the character of the administration which Ssu Ma Kuang initiated and which was in full swing when this history was in process of compilation, it is reasonable to surmise that Lu Tien's opinion of the record was fairly correct.

The date of this first compilation is given as the 2nd month of 1086.*

When Che Tsung became independent in 1094, the political pendulum swung to the other extreme, and members of the Reform party were restored to power. One of the first things they did was to call for a revised history of Shen Tsung's reign. Several memorials were submitted by the various government departments complaining that the previous record was extremely faulty and pernicious, the whole object of it being to throw the blame for everything that was considered injurious in the previous reign on to Wang An Shih. The emperor thereupon ordered an investigation to be made into the sources of the previous record, and according to Chang Ch'un (常惇) An T'ao (安燾) and others, it was discovered that much of the material found in it was founded on mere rumour and hearsay, and that even where written sources had been used, they were not reliable.†

So in the 4th month of 1094 Ts'ai Pien (蔡卞) the son-in-law of Wang An Shih was appointed Editor-in-chief of the Imperial History ~~Redaction~~ Redaction, and in the 10th month of the same year announced the completion of the work. It seems to be admitted by the authorities that Ts'ai Pien adopted the diary of Wang An Shih as the main source for the compilation of the new work. He took the old record and after comparing the accounts therein recorded with the statements found in Wang An Shih's diary he made numerous corrections and deletions with a vermilion pen, and so this particular history is known as the "Chu Mei Pen" (朱墨本) or 'Vermilion Ink Record'.‡ By way of distinguishing it from the first record the latter may be styled the 'Mei Pen' or 'Black Ink Record'.

As the first attempt was based on Ssu Ma Kuang's diary and was therefore inevitably prejudiced, ^{against Wang An Shih} it is only fair to assume that as the second was based on the diary of Wang An Shih that it was equally prejudiced. ^{in his favour} It should however be pointed out that Ts'ai Shang Hsiang and Liang Ch'i Ch'ao while hesitating to affirm that the 'Vermilion Ink Record' was a just ^{and} compilation, they think it

was justifiable as an attempt to correct the extremely antagonistic character of the previous work.¹² The fault for initiating this type of ~~history~~ ^{writing} lies with the producers of the "Black Ink Record" who had thus broken the ~~well established~~ ^{ancient} tradition of Chinese historiographers by allowing factional interests to colour the nature of their historical writings.¹²

It should also be observed that after the revised History was presented to the throne and accepted as the canonical version of Shen Tsung's reign, the compilers of the first record were punished by degradation and banishment to distant outposts, Fan Tsu Yu, Chao Yen Jo (趙彥若) Huang T'ing Chien, Lü Ta Fang (呂大防) and even Lu Tien suffering in this way.¹³

During the reign of Che Tsung's successor, Hui Tsung (徽宗) one Liu Cheng Fu (劉正夫) reopened the question by asserting that both the previous records suffered from the party prejudices of their compilers, and that a third edition should be prepared which would be strictly impartial, so that posterity might be furnished with a trustworthy account of the Shen Tsung-Wang An Shih regime.¹⁴

Hsu Chi (徐勣) supported this plea with the remark that both the previous records were faulty in that they represented the prejudices of political partisans. He affirmed that Fan Tsu Yu and his colleagues had depended solely on the diary of Ssu Ma Kung and that Ts'ai Fien and Ts'ai Ching (brothers) had relied solely upon the diary of Wang An Shih. It was inevitable that the results in each case should be unsatisfactory, and so he urged the emperor to order a third compilation which would be strictly neutral and fair.¹⁵

The mandate for this was forthwith issued by the emperor,¹⁶ but it was not carried out during Hui Tsung's reign. Meanwhile the Court was transferred to the south in 1126, and the matter considerably delayed. Eventually the third edition was compiled and issued in 1134 in the reign of Kao Tsung (高宗). This is the work which would be taken by the Mongol compilers of the Sung History as their chief source of information, and it is therefore important that its character should be investigated.

First of all it should be noted that the chief editor was Fan Ch'ung (范冲) the son of Fan Tsu Yu, who was the chief compiler of the "Black Ink Record". ~~As the faction spirit was seething in his breast and in addition he was nursing feelings of vengeance on those who had done despite to his father's work and memory, he added still more slanderous statements about Wang An Shih than had been included in the "Black Ink Record" and eliminated from the "Vermillion Ink Record" numerous proofs of his good character and administration.~~ ^{he was under the influence} It is recorded that he actually burnt Wang An Shih's diary and the "Vermillion Ink Record" as well, thus leaving no traces of either work.¹⁷

As the party of Wang An Shih, or rather those who had assumed his name and policy ~~out for~~ ^{dis} reasons not altogether ~~dis~~ interested, had entirely ceased to count in political circles at this time, there was no one to come forth and expose the revengeful character of this third record, and so later Works on the period were not only of similar complexion to this, but even still more unfair to Wang An Shih's character and achievements.

Of such a character were the "Jih Lu Pien" (日錄辨) of Yang Chung Li (楊中立) the "Ch'ang Pien" (長編) of Li Jen Fu (李仁甫) and worst of all the "Erh Ch'en I Mei" (二陳遺墨) the authors of which works were not content to take the materials of the third Record (henceforth styled the "Vermillion Ink History" as their basis, but added a considerable amount of extra material from many other private works.¹⁸ These Works, in addition to those which have been

specially referred to above, all emanated from the pens of those who were antagonistic to Wang An Shih and his policy.

One other matter of considerable importance remains to be noted in this connection. At the end of Wang An Shih's biography, as found in the Sung Histories, there is included a paragraph summarizing the opinion of Chu Hsi on his character and work.⁹ This ~~has~~ possibly every appearance of being a précis of Chu Hsi's somewhat numerous expressions of opinion on Wang An Shih which are found in his "Complete Works".¹⁰ Doubtless T'o K'o T'o would have these writings before him, as well as other works from the Chu Hsi school,¹¹ during his compilation of the Sung Histories.

It is well known that the opinions of Chu Hsi were almost sacrosanct for centuries, being regarded as the standard of Confucian orthodoxy, generally speaking, right through to the late years of the Manchu Dynasty. It is for this reason that those writers who took up the cudgels in Wang An Shih's behalf, and were led to write in a different strain from Chu Hsi, have been given little prominence and ~~these~~ ^{account for the fact that the} views of Chu Hsi, which in the main are antagonistic to Wang An Shih's policy, have remained the popular tradition.

Chu Hsi was a later disciple of the "Lo" school of ethico-political thought. The founder of this was Chow Lien Hsi. (1017-73). He was followed by the two Ch'engs, Ch'eng Hao, (1032-85) and Ch'eng I (1033-1107). The succession was maintained by Yang Chung Li, or Yang Kuei Shan (楊龜山) as he is also called, (1053-1135). His writings were extremely opposed to Wang An Shih. He is the author of the "Jih Lu Pien" noted above, and the one who so strenuously argued that the downfall of the northern Sung dynasty was due to him and his policy. Although Chu Hsi comes later in time, (1130-1200) he is a direct descendant of this school,¹² and his views of Wang An Shih and his work bear the impress of his connection with it.

At the close of the northern Sung dynasty (1126) and after the removal of the capital to the south, the descendants of those who had opposed Wang An Shih's policy remained in possession of the field. So that the views of those antagonistic to his regime persisted as the official tradition, and naturally enough were adopted by the Mongol compilers of the Sung Histories.

Liang Ch'i Ch'ao writes, "The reason for the erroneous impression of Wang An Shih and his policy which has persisted for so long is to be found in the prejudices and exaggerations of the descendants of the officials of the 'Yuan Yu' regime. (1036-94). After the transfer of the Court to the south, the views of the ethico-political school (represented by the Ch'engs and Chu Hsi) predominated in the popular estimation. This led to the baseless opinions of this school becoming the permanent tradition."¹³

This then reveals the real significance of the statement in the "Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu T'i Yao" that the chief concern of the Mongol editors of the Sung Histories was to record the matters connected with ethics and philosophy, other things being given scanty attention.

But the "scanty attention" they gave to "other things" has led to serious injustice being done to the memory of Wang An Shih, for it has contributed greatly to the general misunderstanding of the man and his work which has characterized the thinking of the scholarly class of China for over eight hundred years.

THE LIFE OF WANG AN SHIH.
(According to the Dynastic History of Sung.)

Wang An Shih, (王安石) also known as Wang Chieh Fu, (王介甫) was a native of Lin Ch'uan (臨川) in the prefecture of Fu Chow (撫州). His father was Wang I (王益) who held a post as Accountant in the Military Judiciary at the capital.² (都官員外郎)

In his early years Wang An Shih was a keen student, and remembered everything he read. His essays were composed with lightning-like rapidity, and apparently with little thought, but when completed aroused the admiration of everyone who read them both for their content and style.

While he was still a young man, some of his written work was submitted to Ou Yang Hsiu by his friend Tseng Kung (曾鞏). The former (was so impressed) that he began to spread his name abroad, with the result that at the examination for the doctor's degree (進士) he was placed in the highest class.³

After this he was appointed as secretary to the military commandant of the Huai-Nan circuit. (淮南) ⁴

According to the government regulations in force at the time, officials were entitled, on the completion of their first term of probation, to submit a thesis to the educational authorities, with a view to sitting for the examination for the higher ranks of the civil service. (館職). Wang An Shih, however, refused to avail himself of this privilege, (thus forming a notable exception to the general rule.) ⁶

He was next appointed to Chin Hsien (鄆縣) as magistrate. During his term of office there he repaired the grain-mounds, and restored the embankments. He also drained marshlands and flooded areas, which was greatly to the advantage of agriculture. He also instituted a system of loans of grain to the people, thus ensuring a constant supply of fresh grain in the granaries. This was considered a very beneficial arrangement by the local populace.

His next appointment was at Shu Chow (舒州) where he took up the position of Military Attache.

Wen Yen Po, who was then a member of the Grand Council, ⁷ then appealed to the emperor that Wang An Shih should be promoted to the hierarchy without observing the usual procedure. ⁸ He affirmed that Wang An Shih was of a modest and retiring disposition, ⁹ and suggested that if the emperor would do as he recommended, it would serve as a warning to those who so shamelessly pressed their claims for advancement.

Wang An Shih was then ordered to take the higher examination, but he refused.

Ou Yang Hsiu then recommended him for a position in the Censorate, but he excused himself on the ground of his grandmother's advanced age. Realising that his home circumstances demanded a post with better financial prospects, Ou Yang Hsiu once more interposed on his behalf, and secured him a position in the Imperial Stud. (羣牧判官)

^{then} ~~at~~ ^{his own} request, he was transferred to Ch'ang Chow (常州) as sub-prefect. But this appointment was again changed to that of Chief-Justice of the Chiang Tung circuit. (提點江東刑獄). Later again, he was called to the capital, and appointed to the Ministry of Finance. (度支判官). This was in 1058.¹²

His government proposals were of an ambitious and unusual character. He brought remarkable powers of debate to the help of his theories. He was extremely self-confident, ¹³ and obsessed of the idea that he should do something great for the reform of everything connected with the government and social order of his day. This led him to submit his memorial of a myriad characters to the throne, (synopsised as below):-

*The finances of the State were getting progressively more straitened,

b. ^{the} ~~life~~ ^{corrupt} and public morality more and more decadent. These things he attributed to the prevailing ignorance of the real method of government, and to a deviation from the example of the ancient rulers. XX.

He affirmed however that it was only requisite to follow the ideas of the ancient rulers, (and not slavishly imitate all the details of their laws and regulations.). If a policy of that type could be initiated, he affirmed that the reforms and changes he sought to introduce would ~~in no way~~ ^{not unduly} alarm the people or create a public disturbance. He thought, on the contrary, that it would ~~surely~~ ^{certainly} bring the government administration into line with that of the ancient regime.

His main thesis was that the ^{total resources} ~~labour~~ of the ^{empire} ~~people~~ should be ^{so} ~~used~~ ^{organised} to produce revenue for the State, and that ^{all} ~~these~~ ^{available} revenue should be devoted to the meeting of the State's financial needs.¹⁵ He said that in ancient times the rulers were never distressed by lack of funds, ~~as~~ ^{as} their one and only concern ^{was} ~~was~~ lest they should not attain to the right method of administering the finances of the country.

He next proceeded to state his opinion that there were far too few capable men in the service of the government, and that there was in the country generally a dearth of ^{usable} ~~talented~~ men, (from whom could be drawn the numbers required to make up the deficiency.)

He urged the emperor not to presume on a continuation of the good fortune which had hitherto characterised the progress of the dynasty, or to assume that he would not have serious cause for anxiety one day in regard to his responsibilities for the government and the protection of the empire.

He therefore warned the emperor of the danger which lurked in the pursuance of a policy of laissez-faire,¹⁶ and appealed that he would command his high officers to devise immediately some measures which would gradually bring about the much-desired improvements, so that the ~~growing~~ needs of the times might be met.

But he also asserted that the proposals he himself would make were not such as time-serving and conventionally minded officials would advance, and that they were generally spoken of by critics as either impracticable or commonplace.¹⁷

When, later on, Wang An Shih became ^{a member of the} ~~Grand Councillor~~,¹⁸ he based most of his proposals for reform on this particular memorial.

A short time after the presentation of this memorial he was appointed to the Chi Hsien Yuan. (集賢院). Hitherto he had repeatedly refused to consider appointments of this character,¹⁹ and the big officials had begun to think that his mind was not set on ^{political} ~~worldly~~ advancement. This created a great desire amongst those at Court to see such a man. So it came about that whenever a good post was offered him, their one concern was lest he should not accept it.

The next year (1062) he was offered ^{appointed} ~~the post of~~ Keeper of the Emperor's Diary, (同修起居注). He at first refused to accept this, though it was repeatedly offered to him day after day. A special messenger was sent to offer him the commission in person, but still he refused to receive it. He ~~endeavoured to escape~~ ^{turned away} from the messenger, but the latter followed hard after him begging him to take it. At last Wang An Shih retired to the privy, whereupon the messenger laid the commission on his desk and made for home. But Wang An Shih sent the document ~~back~~ ^{back} after him. Eight or nine times he refused this position before he was finally prevailed upon to accept it.

Later on he was appointed to the Edicts Office, (知制誥) and also made ^{Inspector of} ~~Chief~~ Justice of the capital. (糾察在京刑獄) So from this time on, he ~~refrained from~~ ^{ceased to} refusing Court appointments.

A certain youth, who was the owner of a fighting quail, was requested by a friend to make him a present of it. This request he felt bound to refuse, whereupon his friend, presuming on his familiarity, snatched the bird from him and ran away. The owner gave chase to the thief, and in the scuffle which ensued killed him.

The judge of K'ai Feng Fu passed sentence of death. Wang An Shih opposed this decision, arguing from the law that the taking of property, either public or private in character, which belonged to another, was robbery. In this case, the owner (of the bird) was obviously unwilling to hand it to his friend, but it had been taken without the owner's consent, and so in the first instance, it was clearly a case of robbery.

He then proceeded to argue that the chasing of the thief by the owner was obviously with intent to apprehend him in the interests of the law, and although the culprit should have been killed in the process, it ought not to be regarded as a ~~case of murder~~ ^{crime at all}.

So Wang An Shih accused the judge of having made an illegal charge. This however the court officials concerned refused to admit, so the matter was referred to the High Court of Justice. This Court upheld the decision of the local judge, and demanded that Wang An Shih should be punished and requested to present an apology at the Civil Office. (閤門) This he refused to do, affirming his innocence.

The Censorate then appealed that action should be taken against him, but the emperor ignored the matter.

Later, a mandate was issued by the throne to the effect that after an edict had been issued by the emperor, the Edicts Inspection Board (舍入院)²¹ were not to appeal for any alterations or erasures to be made in the text. This suggested action Wang An Shih strenuously opposed. He affirmed that if it were carried out, the office of the Edicts Inspection Board would be rendered nugatory. He also asserted that it would tend to make the power of the high officials absolute, and that even though these might be free from private prejudices and be above action based on purely personal considerations, such action was constitutionally wrong. Should it become the recognised procedure ^{there would be times when} weaker officials would not dare to keep the law in the interests of the emperor, while the more powerful ones would presume on their knowledge of the emperor's mind to issue orders in their own name. The Censorate ^{officials} would not dare to oppose such influential men, and so this was a matter which excited his serious apprehension. ^(as there would be no possibility of correcting the defects arising from this)

It was inevitable that such statements as this should be regarded by the influential officials as an ^{impr} ~~attack upon their~~ ^{offence} ~~privileges and position~~, and so their animosity against Wang An Shih was greatly increased.

On the death of his mother, he returned home, and remained in retirement until the death of the emperor Ying Tsung (英宗) during whose reign, although called to Court several times, he took up no office.

Wang An Shih was a native of the State of Ch'u (楚) and a scholar. His name however was unknown at Court. So he took steps to secure the help and patronage of the influential families of Han (韓) and Lu (呂), so as to get better known. He became very intimate with Han Chiang, and his younger brother Han Wei, also with Lu Kung Chu, (呂公著) through whose *patronage & advertisement* he first became famous.

While Shen Tsung was still a prince in status, Han Wei (韓維) acted as his secretary and advisor. When anything he suggested met with his master's approval, he was accustomed to say, "This is the idea of my friend, Wang An Shih." Later on, when Han Wei was appointed as *advisor or chamberlain* to the *emperor*, he recommended Wang An Shih to take his place. This made Shen Tsung and Han Wei were anxious to make his acquaintance, so as soon as he came to the throne, he commissioned Wang An Shih as Governor of Chiang Ning Fu. (江寧府). After some months, he called him to the capital to take up the post of Literary Councillor (翰林學士) and also made him sub-expositor of the Han Lin College. (侍講)

In the first year of Hsi Ning (熙寧) in the 4th month, he was first called to take part in Imperial audiences. The emperor asked him what he thought was the most important matter to which those in charge of the government should give their attention. He replied, "The selection of the right method is of first importance." The emperor then enquired, "What do you think of T'ang T'ai Tsung?" (were his methods all right?) Wang An Shih replied, "You ought to take Yao and Shun (堯舜) as your models. Their method of government was direct and simple. They dealt with essential matters in a practical manner, and ~~are~~ ^{are} their ideas ~~are~~ not difficult to carry out. But alas, later students fail to realise this, and imagine that their method of government cannot be revived."

The emperor continued, "You would impose an extremely hard task upon me. I feel myself to be so insignificant, and fear that I have neither the character nor the ability to do as you suggest. Perhaps with your help I might attain to such heights."

On another occasion the emperor detained Wang An Shih for private conversation after the other officials had dispersed. When they had seated themselves, the emperor said, "It was only after T'ang T'ai Tsung (唐太宗) had secured the help of Wei Cheng (魏徵) and after Liu Pei (劉備) had secured the assistance of Chu Ko Liang (諸葛亮) they accomplished anything worthy of note. But of course these two were extremely rare characters."

Wang An Shih replied, "If you are really to become another Yao and Shun, you will certainly need the help of a Kao, (皋) a K'uai (夔) a Chi (稷) or a Hsieh (契). If you are to do what Kao Tsung (高宗) did, you will assuredly need the help of a Fu Yueh. (傅說). As a matter of fact Wei Cheng and Chu Ko Liang are not greatly esteemed by those who know what real government should be. They are not worthy of being mentioned in this connection. P.T.O."

~~"When the vastness of the empire, and the enormous population of the empire is taken into consideration, and the fact that we have enjoyed a century of peace is taken into account, we find that not only are the educated people too few, but there is constant concern that there are none forthcoming to help in matters of government. So that unless you get quite clearly fixed into your own mind what is the right method of government to adopt, and if your mind is not yet fully and sincerely made up, even though you should secure a Kao () a K'uai () a Chi () or a Hsieh () for your minister, they will just be swamped by a crowd of mean creatures, and depart with their proposals unexplained."~~

When one considers the vastness of the empire and its enormous population; when again we take into account the fact that we have enjoyed a century of peace, and that those who have been devoting themselves to literary pursuits have not been few, it is surprising that we should still have to deplore the lack of suitable men to help in the government services. ~~Therefore~~ I am afraid that as you are not quite clear as to the method of government that should be adopted, and as you have not yet made up your mind to ~~administer~~ carry out sincerely (the needed reforms) even though you should secure a Kao, a K'uei, a Chi or a Hsieh, to act as your minister, they would be so obstructed by meaner men, that they would depart without having made their contribution.

The emperor replied, "But every generation has its mean men. Were there not the four infamous ministers even in the days of Yao and Shun?" ²⁶

"True" retorted Wang An Shih, "But the rulers recognized them as such, and administered due punishment. By that very fact they became so famous. If they had given a free rein to such nefarious men, can you imagine that such notabilities as Kao, K'uei, Chi and Hsieh, would have been content to compromise their principles by serving them for their whole lives?"

In the district of Teng Chow (鄧州) the case arose of a woman attacking her husband with a knife in the night, on account of his unbearable conduct. She had inflicted serious injuries, and the general opinion at the Court was that the death penalty ought to be imposed. Wang An Shih however differed from everybody else, contending that according to the law, a sentence of two degrees below that decreed for injury with intent to kill, ~~was~~ was just. The emperor concurred in Wang An Shih's opinion, and a mandate was issued to that effect.

Wang An Shih was appointed vice-Grand Councillor in 1066. (參知政事) The emperor remarked, "No one seems to really know you. The general impression is that you are acquainted only with bookish ideas, and have no knowledge of practical politics." He replied, "But the methods of government as found in the Classics are exactly what is required for practical politics. Modern scholars are very commonplace folk, and it has become the fashion to think that ~~that~~ a knowledge of the classical methods is useless for practical affairs of State."

The emperor enquired, "What contribution would you deem of first importance?" Wang An Shih replied, "To change current practices, and set up (new) laws and ordinances, is the greatest need of the times."

This statement gained the approval of the emperor, who thereupon

f.

*who had concurrent control
of the Board of War.*

XXIV.

the emperor concurred in this proposal, and issued his decree that the Financial Reorganisation Bureau (制置三司條例司) should be set up. Ch'en Sheng Chih (陳升之) was put in charge, ^{joint} and Wang An Shih (王安石) ^{the latter} also ordered his partisan Lu Hui Ch'ing to assist. (呂惠卿)

In this way the various new Measures, viz., the Heng T'ien Shui Li (農田水利) or "Land Reclamation and River Control", the Ch'ing Miao (青苗) or "Agricultural Loans", the Chun Shu (均輸) or "Equitable Transport", the Pao Chia (保甲) or "Militia Act", the Mien I (免役) or "Public Services Act", the Shih I (市易) or "Trade and Barter Regulations", the Pao Ma (保馬) or "Militia Mounts Measure", the Fang T'ien (方田) or "Land Tax Survey" and the ~~Chu I~~ () or "Public Services Aid Measure", were promulgated one after the other, and were generally spoken of as the New Laws.

More than forty special superintendents were commissioned to supervise the execution of these new laws, and sent out into different parts of the country with that object in view.

^{funds available for the operation} The Agricultural Loans Measure comprised the ^{diversion} conversion of the ~~grain in the~~ Ordinary Government Granaries into a special fund which was to be used for disbursement amongst the people at interest of 24% per annum. The loans were to be distributed in the Spring and repaid in the Autumn.

^{character} The Equitable Transport Measure involved the alteration in ~~the~~ of the Transport Service (發運) into Equitable Distribution Service. (均輸). Reorganisation of the system of tribute was the aim. Funds and goods were allocated to enable the officials in charge to buy the requisite supplies for government needs in the cheapest market, and in the most conveniently placed centres. Those in charge were to be kept informed of the probable requirements of the Imperial Treasury and Granary, so that they could secure such supplies beforehand and have them ^{requiring} in readiness against every emergency.

The Militia Act aimed at ^{country} calling in the people (for regular periods of military training). One able-bodied male out of every two in a family was liable to be called up. Ten families formed a corps. Each man received a bow or cross-bow and was instructed in military drill.

The Public Services Act consisted of a money levy based on the property classification of the various families. The proceeds of the levy were to be devoted to the procuring of hired labour for the public services. The levy extended to families with only one male, or even to those families in which there was no male member at all. ^{in all cases where hitherto had been exempt from liability for Public Services} In these particular cases the levy was styled "Public Services Aid Money". (助役錢)

The Trade and Barter Measure permitted a person to contract loans of either money or goods from the officials, who accepted land, buildings or other property by way of security. Interest was charged at the rate of 20% per annum, but if the loan was not repaid by the specified time, an extra 2% per month was demanded as a fine.

The Militia Mounts Measure was as follows:-

All militia (保丁) within the five districts ²⁹ adjacent to the capital, who were willing to keep a horse, were allocated one to each family. The animals were either taken from the National Stud, or were purchased by the keeper of the animal with money granted for that purpose by the government. There was to be an annual examination of the animals' condition, and dead or sick animals had to be replaced.

The Land Tax Survey comprised the measuring out of the land into plots of 1,000 "pu" square. ³⁰ Each year, in the 9th month, the officials were to measure the plots, and determine the classification of each according to ^{the} their relative productivity. Five classes

band of associates cannot be true, as in the days prior to Su Hsun's death, Wang An Shih had attained to no influential position in connection with the government such as would have made it feasible for him to have a large following, and yet the documents referred to state that such was the case as early as 1056-8. (Chia Yu Ch'u 嘉祐初). The further reference to the document appointing Wang An Shih to the Grand Council, with its supposed laudation of Wang An Shih as a sage, must have emanated from the emperor Shen Tsung. The actual appointment took place at the earliest in 1069 when Wang An Shih was appointed vice-Grand Councillor, but Su Hsun died in 1066. Again, in the memorial notice Chang Fang P'ing styles Su Hsun "hsien sheng" (先生) but Chang was older than Su Hsun, and of superior status, officially, so to style him in that particular way was quite contrary to the custom prevalent in the times of the Northern Sung. It was moreover quite unlike Chang Fang P'ing to be so subservient.

I suspect that the funeral notice, and the Pien Chien Lun are both fabrications of the Shao family. For on the death of Su Hsun, Ou Yang Hsiu composed the funeral notice, and Tseng Tzu Ku wrote out the epitaph. Tseng Tzu Ku states expressly that Ou Yang Hsiu's document was placed within the tomb, and that his own epitaph was carved upon the tombstone. So it would be very unusual to call for a "mu piao" as well.

Note further that in the "mu piao" there occurs the phrase "Shu wu jen" (蜀無人) whereas in the letter of thanks from Su Shih the very similar phrase "Ch'in wu jen" occurs. This strongly points to the conclusion that both these documents are from one pen, i.e. from Shao.

What is absolutely incontrovertible is that in the life record of Wang An Shih there is ^{no} suggestion of evil purposes or self-seeking. On the contrary he was quite obviously keenly devoted to the welfare of his country, and determined to save it from its weakness and peril. All this is in flat contradiction to the statements of the Pien Chien Lun. He may not have had the best method of going about his work, but in aim he was absolutely sincere. The epithet "Chien" (姦) "wicked" or "treacherous" is quite inapplicable to him.

Before going further it will be well to give the substance of the "mu piao" of Chang Fang P'ing and also Su Shih's letter, which are referred to above. The important section of the first document reads as follows:-

"In the early years of Chia Yu (1056-8) the reputation of Wang An Shih began to spread, and his partisans were extremely influential. The commission appointing him to the Grand Council stated that there had been few like him since the dawn of history, and that reports had been spread about which made him practically equivalent to a sage. Ou Yang Hsiu also spoke highly of him, and exhorted Su Hsun to cultivate his acquaintance. Wang An Shih was also desirous to make friends with Su Hsun. But the latter said, 'I perceive that this man is of such an unnatural disposition that he is practically certain to bring disaster upon the state.'"

After the death of Wang An Shih's mother, all the great officials, with the sole exception of Su Hsun, went in person to present their condolences. He stayed at home, and wrote out the Pien Chien Lun. Contemporaries when they saw this document, demurred, and regretted its extreme character. But three years after the death of Su Hsun, when Wang An Shih became influential in matters of government, they began to regard the statements in this document as true..."

Pien Chien Lun. 5.

On this Ts'ai Shang Hsiang comments as follows:-

"Ou Yang Hsiu and Tseng Tzu Ku had each composed funeral notices for Su Hsun, which was a sufficient guarantee that his name would persist, but to add the "mu piao" (墓表) of Chang Fang P'ing and the letter of thanks from Su Shih, which concern themselves chiefly with the Pien Chien Lun is not only derogatory to Su Hsun, but also to the composers of the two documents referred to. The former was acknowledged as a writer of considerable fame, and to attribute this badly written, and confused composition to him, is certainly not to his credit. What is stranger still is that he should have included the supposed words of the Imperial commission appointing ~~xxxxxx~~ Wang An Shih to the Grand Council, an event which happened four years after the death of Su Hsun, and when moreover, Chang Fang P'ing was also at Court. So it is incredible that he should have made such a blatant anachronism as that.

For six or seven hundred years no one pointed out this error, but Li Mu T'ang having ^{once exposed} ~~discovered~~ it, it was also found that in the Ming Ch'ien Yen "sing Lu" (名臣言行錄) of Chu Hsi, in recording the biography of Su Hsun, that the editors had left out the twenty-four characters referring to the Commission appointing Wang to the Grand Council, but had included the rest of the "mu piao" references to him. It would seem therefore as though they realised the erroneous character of this reference, ^{but although they had omitted the section} with the one object of concealing its false character, they just simply added to the evidence for exposing the same."

The letter of thanks which Su Shih is credited with, is as follows:-

"I respectfully acknowledge the second copy of the funeral notice, with its special emphasis on the Pien Chien Lun. As I read this document, I could not restrain my tears, and words fail me. My father died comparatively young, and it was only in his later years that he attained to any fame. Although his contemporaries acknowledged him as teacher, yet in the main they failed to fully comprehend his public utterances and writings. It is all the less likely that they should understand the ideas which he had not put formally into speech or writing. You are the only one who completely understood him and believed in him. Although that may be regarded as an unfortunate circumstance, yet "being known by few was considered estimable by Lao "zu". When the Pien Chien Lun was first published, both my brother and myself both regretted its extreme character, so no wonder others were of the same opinion. Probably you thought the same when you first saw it. But since you first took up the matter at court, and it got inserted in the histories, although it may still be possible that some may not know of it, later generations will have it as an imperishable record. Unless you had included it in your funeral notice, it might still be possible that some would not believe in the statements made, but after all whether they believe or not is a matter of small consequence. But if ~~xxxxxx~~ the nation was to be allowed to remain in ignorance of the deceitful character of this man's despicable work it would call forth regrets from later generations that Ch'in had no man (to expose such). This shows why it was necessary for the "mu piao" to be written, and accounts for my tears. Allow me to renew my thanks...?"

Pien Chien Lun. 6.

Ts'ai's comment on this is as follows:-

"It is only right that a son should give thanks for the efforts of any worthy man to make plain the really virtuous character of a father, ~~as~~ to whose character and achievements full justice had not been done. If Wang An Shih had done despite to the teaching of his father or deliberately attempted to defame his literary work, then it might be reasonable to believe that tears would be wrung from the son when some kind friend exposed the outrage and revealed his father's virtue. If again, Wang An Shih had been hated by Su Shih for some ^{other} reason, it might also be credible. But to give such importance to a document like the Pien Chien Lun, is hardly the conduct that one would expect of a filial son of a noble father. If this is really Su Shih's composition then I don't think much of Su Shih.

The Pien Chien Lun is a ~~private work~~, and the origin of it is a debatable point. For Su Shih to say that it had been discussed at Court and inserted into the histories is a baseless assertion. Four years after the death of Su Hsün Wang An Shih came into power, and the whole court resounded with noisome criticism of the new laws, but it is inconceivable that they should be concerned about such a document as the Pien Chien Lun. How could Su Shih say that unless Cheng Fang P'ing had composed the "mu piao" later generations would regret that "there was no man in Ch'in"? Moreover Su Hsün, Chang Fang P'ing and Su Shih are all famous essayists and men of good repute. But such documents as the Pien Chien Lun, the "mu piao" and the letter of thanks are of such a worthless character, that if they are to be attributed to these men, then their literary and moral reputation may be considered to have been lost.

Ts'ai goes into still further detail to show that the Pien Chien Lun is a fabrication, and indicates several sources from which extracts have been taken and combined to make the resulting composite document. These are the "Chieh Yin Pi Chi" (芥隱筆記) of Kung I Cheng, (龔頤正) the "Po Chai Pien" (泊宅編) of Fang Yun (方勻) the Wen Chien Lu (聞見錄) of Shao, (the fish-bait incident) the "Pi Shu Lu Hua" (避暑錄話) of Yeh Meng Te (葉夢得) the indictment of Wang An Shih by Lu Hui (呂誨), and a tract by Su Hsün on Kuan Chung. (管仲論) These are outlined in Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 10. pp. 1-13, to which the reader desirous of following the matter in further detail is referred.

Appendix No. 3

The Coinage, Lifting of Embargo on Export of Copper etc.,

During the Sung Dynasty the coins in use varied in size and in the metals used in minting. As the size varied, it was necessary to fix the value of the larger coins in terms of the smaller, with due regard, of course, to the component metal. As a rule copper coins were classed by themselves, as were those minted of iron chiefly.

Copper was the rarer metal of the two, and of course much lighter in weight and more convenient. The general standard for copper coins in the earlier years of the Sung dynasty was as follows:-

Five catties of metal in the proportions given below, made 1,000 coins, viz.,

Copper.....	3 catties (斤)	10 ozs. (兩)
Lead.....	1 "	8 "
Stannum or Tin.		3 "

Iron coins were minted in various weights and sizes. Those turned out from the Kansu mint (prior to the reign of Jen Tsung, 1023-1063) weighed 12 catties 10 ozs per thousand, (nearly 17 lbs). Those turned out from two mints in Ssuch'uan were roughly twice the size of the Kansu coins, a thousand weighing 25 catties 8 ozs. (32 lbs.)

A rough idea of the relative value of the two metals in Jen Tsung's day may be gained from the fact that iron vessels weighing 25 catties could be bought for 2,000 copper coins. The labour on the vessel would have to be allowed for, but as a rough estimate, it would appear that copper was worth two or three times as much as iron.

P.T.O.

In the year 1045 bronze coins (copper and stannum) were being minted in two places in Shensi, and a brass coin was being turned out at I Chow (益州), also in Shensi. But iron coins were also in circulation and considerable confusion arose.

As a rule the bigger the coin the bigger its value in proportion to the small coins, although the component metals in each case might be the same. At one time one big copper coin was worth ten small ones, the same holding true of the iron coins. But it is noted that at one period three small copper coins could by smelting be made into one of the big coins which was reckoned as equal to ten small ones. This led to a great deal of illicit minting it being highly profitable to melt down small coins to make big ones.

In 1048 an attempt was made to fix the value of coins of one metal in terms of the other. In the Hotung Circuit one copper coin was to equal five iron coins. (size unknown). In Shensi in the same year coins both of copper and iron were standardised into two classes, big and little, the big coins being fixed at a value equivalent to two small ones in the same metal. In this way the current value of the big coins greatly decreased, and a check was put upon illicit minting.

Coming now to the times of Wang An Shih's regime, we find that in the year 1071, P'i Kung Pi the Transport Officer of Shensi sent in the following memorial, viz.,

"Since it was decreed that the big coins minted in Shensi were to be reckoned as equal in value to two small coins of the same metal, making the current value of the coin and its intrinsic value (i.e. of the composite metals) practically equivalent, in each case, illicit smelting has been stopped. As this has proved to be a very satisfactory measure, I appeal that all the available stocks of copper and lead might be used for the minting of the big coins."

"This request" records the History "was granted, and from this time it was made the universal rule that one big coin was to equal two small ones. (presumably in the same metal).

Although the appeal from P'i Kung Pi (皮公弼) was made in 1071, the note of his request being granted and the promulgation of the subsequent decree appears under the date of the 10th month, 1073. #2

It is also related in the records with the lifting of the ancient embargo on the export of copper, attributed to Wang An Shih. It is also related in such a way that the reader will get the impression that the standardising of the currency (one big coin equal to two small ones) #3 was necessitated by the shortage of copper which had come about through this lifting of the embargo. The conclusion which the recorder would have the reader reach is that Wang An Shih found it necessary to depreciate the currency by enhancing the current value of the small coins far and away above their intrinsic value. #4

The Historical account reads as follows:-

"From the time when Wang An Shih came into power and lifted the embargo on the export of copper, evil men began to melt down the coins, and make them into vessels and implements, as on the coast and borders they ceased to inspect or take any note of coins going out of the country. This led to the constant diminution of the number of coins in circulation. Chang Fang P'ing (張方平) submitted a memorial denouncing the lifting of the embargo".

Extracts which are apropos to the subject under discussion are taken from this memorial as below:-

During the last few years money has become very scarce, both in Government and Commercial circles. Trade is suffering seriously and the people are greatly distressed. The situation is so serious that it is spoken of as a "Money Famine".

No one knows where all the coins that have been minted in such enormous quantities the last hundred years or so have gone to. The regulations prohibiting the export of copper and illicit minting are very ancient, and were still extant until the 7th year of Hsi Ning (熙寧) i.e. 1074, when new regulations were issued lifting the embargo. This has resulted in cartloads of money being taken out of the country and boat loads of the coins sailing from our shores. I hear that on the borders money passing through for export is simply subject to a tax on each string. In this way the money which is China's natural and most valuable commodity, is being used by the barbarians equally with us.

Further since the embargo was lifted the people have been melting down great quantities of the coins, for from ten coins they extract one ounce of pure copper. With this they make vessels and get five times the value of the original coins. Merely to urge the districts to establish more mints, and to order all the Mints to increase their output is ^{like} pouring water into the stream, which runs off to the sea."

The History further relates that Chang Fang P'ing asked Wang An Shih what his idea was in rescinding a Measure (the embargo) which had been extant for so long. This excited Wang An Shih's enmity and from this time the law was promulgated that one coin was to be reckoned as two. (really one big coin equal to two small ones) and that this was to be observed throughout the country with the exception of the capital circuit.

But the order about unification of the currency was issued before the lifting of the embargo on export of copper, according to Chang Fang P'ing's own showing, so the former cannot have resulted from the latter.

We conclude therefore that the unification Measure was designed to prevent illicit smelting by making the coins whether large or small ~~as~~ of proportionately intrinsic value, and as such was a definitely good measure.

It was ~~definitely not~~ ^{rather} due to shortage of copper caused by the large exports of that metal, nor was it a currency depreciation ~~inflation~~ measure.

It is difficult to estimate the merits or demerits of the lifting of the embargo measure, from the facts available. It is known that very heavy penalties had been exacted under the older regulations for this ~~next~~ exporting of copper. Before 1041 when the chief culprit in ~~any case~~ discovered of export of 1,000 copper coins was executed forthwith, the regulations were not quite so stringent but stringent enough, for if one was caught exporting 2,000 coins the punishment was banishment for one year, and if the amount was 3,000 then the culprit was executed.

We infer that Wang An Shih in lifting the embargo had some idea of economical advantage to the country in so doing. We do know that these big coins (one equal to two variety) were ordered to be minted off in large quantities. For instance in 1074 the two mints in Kuangtung were ordered to produce not more than 500,000,000 of these, the Honan Mint being given similar instructions. These were not the only coins produced however, for in addition the former Mint was ordered to turn out 1,100,000,000 coins of the smaller variety. As there were sixteen Mints working under Government auspices at this period, some idea of the enormous number of coins being produced at this time can be gained.

h.

The Mint at Sianfu, Shensi was allowed to increase its normal output by 100,000,000 coins, to be used in connection with the Trade and Barter Measure. The Mint at Hsing Chow (興州) was permitted to increase its output by 72,000,000 coins, and three other Mints in Shensi were permitted to increase their output by 50,000,000 coins each annually. In 1075 the Hotung Mint was ordered to produce 700,000,000 big coins and 300,000,000 small ones. 148 XV

These figures indicate two things, one that coins must have been either leaving the country in considerable quantities as Chang Fang P'ing suggests, or that they must have been a continuance of the smelting down process as he also suggests. Possibly both were operative. The question is whether the country suffered financially from these things, as he further suggests.

It is evident that notice was taken of the coins going out, and that taxes were imposed on their export. So that probably the Government finances gained rather than lost by this lifting of the embargo. It is equally evident that there could have been no serious shortage of copper in the country at this particular time otherwise how can one account for the enormous quantities of coins that were being minted. It is more than probable that illicit smelting went on, for there is an order issued before 1073 stringently prohibiting such practices. The fact that at the same time an order was issued that defective coins in the hands of the officials were to be melted down and reminted might have indicated scarcity or it might have been merely a economical measure to prevent waste. That proves nothing. Some of the Mints were closed about this time too, the History says on account of shortage of metal. That might have arisen later.

There is however a note applying to the period 1073-85 that 200,000,000 of these "one equal to two coins" (折二錢) were sent to the west from the No 2 Mint at Hsu Chow (徐州). That scarcely indicates "a money famine".

The embargo on Copper exports was revived in 1036 when the whole of Wang An Shih's policy was reversed. In 1104 all the "one equal to two coins" were called in and reminted, being reissued as "one equal to ten".

In an attempt to evaluate Wang An Shih's lifting of the embargo and its probable effects on the economic situation one notes therefore that export of the metal was subject to regular taxation, that the terrible penalties of former reigns were rescinded, that for a time at least no serious shortage of money or the metal resulted, and that it was not necessary to inflate the currency as the Historian would have us infer. It is quite possible that these large quantities of coins exported were due to the working of the Trade and Barter Measure on the frontiers, the tribes taking money from China in exchange for goods. If so, then we should say it was a decidedly beneficial measure, as the taxing on money going out would be paid by the foreign ~~mer~~ trader. In this way goods of equivalent value to the money exported would be imported and in addition there would be the tax on money going out. P.T.O.

V. Government Rents and Monopolies.

In the Biography of Wang An Shih, as found in the Sung History (宋史本傳), after an account of the more important reform measures as outlined in previous chapters, there occurs the following paragraph, viz.,

"A mandate was issued ordering the people to bid for market stands and sites by sealed tender. This led to the increase of rents. The quantities of tea and salt which each district was compelled to

If these two measures, thus attributed to Wang An Shih, had been so important and reacted as seriously on the national finances as some critics make out,⁶ it would appear reasonable to expect that in the Sung Biography it would have least been mentioned.. But it is not, although such minor matters as bidding for market stands and increases in the quantities of salt and tea which the people were compelled to take, find a place. Moreover in the T'ung Chien the matter is disposed of in the vaguest and most summary fashion. Enquiry into the subject from the Sung Huo Chih reveals the information as given above. Moreover the matter of the coinage and the lifting of the embargo on export of copper is not mentioned by Wang An Shih's contemporary critics, if we except the memorial of Chang Fang P'ing.

Notes.

1. Sung Histories, Shih Huo Chih, Vol.133, Cp.2. from which much of the material relating to the coinage is taken.
2. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 6th year, 10th month.
3. "Che Erh Ch'ien." (折二錢)
4. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 6th year, 10th month.
5. Sung Histories, Shih Huo Chih, Vol.133. Cp.2. p.4.
6. Cf Dr. J.P. Bruce, in "Chu Hsi and His Masters" p.12.

The Life and Economic Policy of Sang Hung Yang.
(Being a synopsis of the "Life of Sang Hung Yang" as found in "The Lives of Famous Chinese" (中國歷代名人傳畧) published by The Association Press of China.)

Sang Hung Yang was the son of a Loyang merchant. He was born in 143 B.C. and died in 80 B.C. At the early age of 13 he was appointed a clerk in the Government estimating department. In B.C. 115 he devised his "Chun Shu Fa" (均輸法) or "Distribution Measure", which comprised the purchase of native products by the government when prices were cheap, and transporting them to places where they were required ^{for sale} at a fair price. The government sought only to cover transport charges from the operation of this measure.

In the year 110 B.C. in addition to a military appointment, he was promoted to the Presidency of the Board of Revenue, and supplanted K'ung Chin (孔僅) as Superintendent of the Government Salt and Iron Monopolies.

He at once proceeded to establish Government Bureaus in each district with a view to supervising the transport and interchange of commodities, thus eliminating the current practice of competition for this traffic amongst the officials, which had led to increases in prices, and losses on transport charges to the Government. Thus the government undertook to transport the goods from distant places which hitherto had been transported by the big commercial combines, accepting native products in lieu of taxation. In addition he set up a Central Bureau at the capital which regulated the prices of all commodities, and supervised their distribution throughout the country.

The big commercial firms were thus deprived of their opportunity to make enormous profits, and the prices of all commodities throughout the country were regulated by the government to the relief and satisfaction of the people everywhere. The savings effected by the government control of transport and prices were not only sufficient to meet the enormous outlay involved, but enabled them to reduce taxation.

The System of regulating prices was termed "P'ing Chun" (平準). He also appealed to the emperor to institute a system whereby subordinate officials could secure their promotion to higher rank by offerings of grain, and also that grain should be exacted in criminal cases by way of fines. Every district was also commanded to pay their taxes in grain only. As a result of these innovations in the province of Shantung alone an increase of 6,000,000 piculs of grain was recorded annually in the government revenue. Should grain not be available in any district, silk was to be received. From this source 5,000,000 pieces of silk were received annually. In this way, without the addition of taxation, the government revenue ^{became} adequate for all requirements.

As a reward for his successful policy, the emperor not only promoted Sang Hung Yang in rank, but presented him with two hundred catties of pure gold.

But although his policy was so successful, both in regard to meeting government needs, and relieving the general populace, considerable opposition was aroused in official circles, on the ground that financial policy such as he formulated was beneath the dignity of scholarly rulers. On an occasion of drought, one Fu Shih (卜式) demanded that he should be boiled alive, and the rain would come. The emperor however did not take this advice, but banished Fu Shih for his pains.

Han Wu Ti then placed Sang Hung Yang in complete control of the government revenue services, and in B.C. 98 he proceeded to make wine, as well as salt and iron, a government monopoly.

In B.C. 87 just prior to Han Wu Ti's death, along with

Ho Kuang (霍光) Chin Jih Shan (金日磾) and Shang Kuan Chieh (上官桀) he was commissioned to aid his heir, Han Chao Ti. When the latter came to the throne the next year, Ho Kuang was appointed regent.

In B.C. 81, owing to the administration of the government monopolies and the Distribution and Control Measures being in the hands of men like Tu Yen Nien, (杜延年) although receipts continued to be enormous, a policy of militarism and extravagance resulted in general distress and impoverishment, not only amongst the populace generally but also in the government exchequer. This led to Ho Kuang calling in the advice of the scholarly class to ascertain the cause of the prevailing distress. This type of scholar, being by training and tradition opposed to such economic policy as Sung Hung Yang had initiated, and seeing an opportunity to curry favour with influential men like Ho and Tu, unanimously appealed for the abrogation of all government monopolies, and the various Distribution and Control Measures, as they involved the government in commercial competition with the people.

Both Ho and Tu approved of this suggestion, but Sang Hung Yang made a vigorous defence, asserting that if his policy were abandoned, the economic stability of the empire would be seriously imperilled. But by way of compromise, he suggested, in concert with Ch'e Ch'ien Ch'iu (車千秋) that the latest government monopoly, viz., in wine, might be surrendered.

Tu Yen Nien and his confreres however, in fear lest their efforts should fail, once more incited the scholars to the attack. This led to a vigorous attack upon the scholars by Sang Hung Yang. He used very strong language in his indictment, asserting that they were an impracticable, useless, hypocritical and bigoted crowd. Then Huan K'uan (桓寬) sought to make the peace by producing a treatise entitled "A Discussion on Monopolies" (鹽鐵論) which presented both points of view. The immediate upshot of this was that the scholars lost the day.

However Ch'e Ch'ien Ch'iu, in his fear of incurring the enmity of Tu and Ho, resigned his position in the Cabinet, leaving Sang Hung Yang alone to meet the onslaught of his political opponents.

In the 9th month of B.C. 80 a plot of rebellion against the government, hatched by Yen Wang Tan (燕王旦) Shang Kuan Chieh (上官桀) and others, came to the knowledge of Tu Yen Nien. He thereupon accused Sang Hung Yang of being an accomplice, on the ground that his public services had not met with the recognition they deserved. He was therefore incriminated of rebellion and put to death with the others.

Later writers are of the opinion that he was unjustly done to death by Tu Yen Nien, who in his hatred of Sang Hung Yang, also executed his son, Sang Ch'ien. (桑遷)

The Five Equalising Measures of Wang Mang, according to Hu Shih.

The most interesting feature in the programme of economic reform under the New Dynasty was the so-called "Five Equalisations". They were chiefly directed to stabilizing the prices of commodities in general use. They may be characterised as a government control of trade in useful goods operated for the benefit of the general public. The surplus profit was to be used in loans to the farming and working classes.

The organisation for this purpose consisted of seven directorates stationed at seven of the commercial centres of the empire, namely, Ch'ang An (長安) east, Ch'ang An, West, Lo Yang (洛陽), Han Tan (邯鄲), Wen (宛) Ling Tzu (臨淄) and Ch'eng Tu. (成都) Under each directorate there were five Trade Commissioners and one Commissioner on Banking and Credit. Each directorate was to be in charge of the five "Equalisations" which are described in the Han Shu (漢書), viz.,

1. The determination of the index number of prices.

"Each directorate shall use the second month of each season for the determination of the equitable price of the commodities under its management. It shall note down the highest, lowest, and the mean price of each commodity in each district. The mean price shall be the equitable price of that particular locality, and shall not be applied to the places where the other directorates are situated."

2. The buying of unsold goods from the market.

"The Office of Equalisation shall buy up all such goods as wheat, rice and other food-stuffs, cloth, silk and silk-fabrics- goods which are needed by the people for everyday use, but which the merchants have not been able to sell at a particular time. The cost price shall be paid to the dealers in order to ensure them against loss."

3. The Stabilisation of Prices.

"As soon as the price of any of these useful commodities rises one cash beyond the "equitable price" for that particular season, the Equalisation Office shall sell out its accumulated stock at the equitable price so that the people may be protected against those who make extravagant profit by cornering the supplies and manipulating the market."

4. Loans without interest.

"Persons who need ready money for funeral, burial or sacrificial purposes, may be given loans by the Commissioner of Credit from the proceeds of trade. Such loans should be without interest, but must be paid within the specified period of time. Loans for sacrificial use shall be paid within ten days: those for funerals and burials within three months."

5. Loans to be used as working capital.

"Poor people who need capital to start productive work, may also secure loans from the Commissioner of Credit who shall charge them a moderate rate of interest."

According to Hk 99b of the Han Shu, the ratio was 3% per month, but according to Hk 24b, it was "not to exceed an annual interest of ten per cent."

Wang Mang issued a decree in A.D. 10 in which he said in part:- "I have now inaugurated the loans to the people, the Five Equalisations and the various state controls, all aiming at an equitable distribution of goods among the people, to prevent them from being encroached upon by the rich and strong."

Seven years later he issued another decree to explain further the purpose of the Six Controls, which now included the Five Equalisations. He said:-

"Salt is the chief seasoning of all food. Wine is the leading accompaniment of medicine and the favourite beverage of all gatherings of conviviality. Iron is the basis of all agricultural implements. Mines and forests are the store-houses of national wealth. The object of price stabilisation and banking is to protect the people and supply their needs. Money and coinage furnish the necessary medium of exchange. None of these six can be operated by the average citizen, who must depend upon the professional trader for the satisfaction of these needs. Therefore he becomes the victim of economic exploitation, and must accept whatever price the rich and strong are pleased to dictate to him. The sages of the ancient times realised all this evil and resolved to check it by means of government control."

How exceedingly modern these words sound in our ears! These two edicts certainly deserved to be ranked as the earliest conscious statement of the theory of state socialism in the history of the social and political thought of mankind.

But Wang Mang and his assistants were nineteen centuries ahead of their time. In an empire almost as large as the modern China Proper, without any modern facilities of check and control, they were destined to fail in their ambitious schemes of economic and political reform. There were not enough men trained to carry out these complicated undertakings. Those who were employed for this work were largely shrewd merchants and capitalists of Lo Yang and Shantung, who were more interested in raising revenues to please the new emperor than in caring for the welfare of the people. And above all, these great capitalists whose names are preserved in the Han Shu, were most keenly interested in making money for themselves at the expense of the people and to the discredit of the government.

The net result of it all was the rise of banditry and insurgency everywhere throughout the empire. And the New Empire fell in A.D. 23. Wang Mang was killed by a merchant named Tu Wu and his body was dismembered among a number of soldiers of the victorious army. And for nineteen centuries his name was a curse. No historian, however liberal, has ever said a word in his defence.

Note. The above is taken from Vol LIX of the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, from an article by Hu Shih, entitled Wang Mang, the Socialist Emperor of nineteen centuries ago.

The Career of Liu Yen (劉晏) *the oldest Dynasty*
 Taken from the 24 Dynastic Histories, ~~the~~ Book of T'ang (舊唐書)
 Vol. 123, Lien Chuan (列傳) No 73.

Liu Yen, also known as Liu Shih An (劉士安) was a native of Ts'ao Chow Fu (曹州府) Shantung province. He was something of a mental prodigy, being given the designation of "Shen T'ung" (神童) or "Marvellous Child" at the age of seven. In his earlier years he occupied many provincial posts with credit, and gained a great reputation for exceptional ability. He acted as prefect of Hang Chow, (杭州) Lung Chow (隴州) and Hua Chow (華州) successively. After that he was appointed to the Censorate, and acted as secretary to the Ministry of Finance. Later he was appointed to the Intendancy of the Honan Circuit, but owing to rebellion in the area he was unable to assume his duties. He therefore devoted himself to river conservancy work for a period, and was then appointed as Intendant of the Capital Circuit.

Promotion followed rapidly. He was made president of the Board of Revenue, and concurrently Chief Censor and Head of the Estimating department of the Ministry of Finance. After suffering indictment by one Ching Yu (敬羽) he was temporarily transferred to T'ung Chow (通州) but was soon recalled to the capital to take up his old work.

In 753 he was appointed Chief of the Civil Service and Grand Councillor, and was given a special commission to supervise all matters pertaining to the national finances, the Salt and Iron Monopolies, and the transport and revenue services. After another temporary setback due to his getting involved in a law-suit connected with Cheng Yuan Chen, (程元振) which led to his losing his place in the Grand Council, and his being appointed Companion to the heir-apparent, he was once more restored to favour, and given control of the chief circuits of the empire, like Tung Tu, (東都) Honan, (河南) Chiang-Huai, (江淮) Shan-Nan (山南) etc., with prime responsibility for Transport, Revenue, and Government Monopolies, much as before.

At this particular period prices of foodstuffs were extremely high, owing to war and disorder, flour selling at the capital for as much as 1,000 cash a bushel. The Court and Army supplies were so scarce that the farmers were ordered to reap their grain before it was ripe to supply urgent needs. This led Liu Yen to make a close investigation into the reasons for this stringency, and he set to work to devise improved transport facilities for grain from distant places like Chiang Su, Che-chiang, Chiang "si, Hunan etc., direct to the capital. This meant a good deal of work on the rivers Huai, (淮) "su (泗) Pien (汴) Huang (黃河) etc., But in the face of many difficulties, such as lack of men in the devastated areas, the presence of bandits along the route, and the corruption of the military on the waterways, he managed to secure the transport of hundreds of thousands of piculs of grain from distant areas to the capital.

His administration of the Salt Monopoly, which had been initiated by Ti Wu Ch'ei (第五琦) in 756, but who was later displaced by Liu Yen, was evidently extremely efficient. When he took over the proceeds from this only amounted to 600,000 "strings" annually. After several years Liu Yen increased this to 6,000,000, without inflicting undue distress upon the people. In the year 765, the total revenue from monopolies and taxation amounted to 12,000,000 "strings" of which more than half came from the Salt monopoly.

A rebellion organised by Li Ling Yao in Honan, meant that the government was temporarily deprived of considerable revenue from that area, but Liu Yen kept the government going on his surplus receipts so that there was no need to resort to additional taxation to make up for the deficiency.

He also instituted a news agency, whereby conditions and price in every part of the empire were rapidly transmitted to the capital, enabling him to take steps to control prices of foodstuffs and other commodities, and control profiteering by the wealthy traders. It is said that in five days the news of such conditions in the furthest part of the empire reached the capital. This also enabled him to balance up "plenty and dearth" to the great benefit of the people, and also to the great enrichment of the national exchequer.

He mostly employed young and able men, who made it their object to get things done as speedily as possible, and this roused the whole country to emulate his ideas in this respect. He encouraged "nepotism" but only up to a certain point. He gave rank and emoluments to the relations of his associates, but ~~only~~ ^{only} actually employed the best brains and most energetic and able men of his time. For twenty years after his death in 780, by far the most able financiers of the time were drawn from the ranks of his associates.

But his methods and fame were bound to bring resentment in their train. His own system worked so efficiently that the local officials found every effort of theirs to get their tribute goods to the capital before those of his agents, frustrated. However from the period 766-780 little interference occurred with his policy.

But on the accession of Te Tsung (德宗) in 780, many appeals were made for the rescindment of his economic policy, and when Yang Yen, (楊炎) an old enemy, was promoted to the Grand Council, he accused Liu Yen of having unjustly done Yuan Tsai (元載) to death, and of having suggested to Tai Tsung (代宗) that he should raise one of his concubines to the position of empress, and thereby make her son the heir to the throne. This led to Liu Yen being cashiered, and sent to Chung Chow, where he was executed a little later at the age of 66. The whole country however resented this action, deeming that Liu Yen had done nothing unworthy of such a penalty.

His family and associates were however all banished to Kuangtung.

In 789 however the emperor Te Tsung repented of his severe action and gave his two sons official recognition, and on the appeal of the elder, bestowed on Liu Yen himself the posthumous rank of magistrate of Cheng Chow. (鄭州刺史)

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Notes on Biographical Table, of Chan Ta Ho. (Prolegomena IIIa)

The table as compiled above follows with minor alterations the Biographical Table of Chan Ta Ho (詹大和) found in the prolegomena to the Poetical Works of Wang An Shih. Chan Ta Ho was a native of T'ung Lu, who published a complete edition of Wang An Shih's works in the 10th year of Shao Hsing (紹興) i.e. 1140 A.D. His dates have been compared with those given by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao in Chapter IV of his Life of Wang An Shih (王荊公傳) and also with the actual dates given in the "T'ung Chien" for the period of Wang An Shih's Court appointments. Minor divergences between Liang Ch'i Ch'ao and Chan Ta Ho may be accounted for by the fact that one relates the dates when appointments were offered, and the other the time when these appointments were actually accepted, amounting in certain instances to as much as seven months. As Liang Ch'i Ch'ao is following Ts'ai Yuan Feng, who has the reputation of having given the greater part of his life to preparing the Life of Wang An Shih, we translate ~~his~~ ^{these} tables on separate sheets for purposes of comparison. ~~Ts'ai Yuan Feng's biographical table is also given below.~~

Note: The divergence of a year which sometimes occurs in the different Tables, may be accounted for by the fact that the reign title was often changed in the middle of a year. It is possible that one writer may be using the older designation of the year and another the newer.

Notes on Biographical Table as given by Liang Ch'i

Ch'ao. (*Prolegomena* etc)

1. Liang here gives the age of Wang An Shih as sixteen, but gives no date. ^{ate.}
The question arises as to whether Liang is using the Chinese method of calculating ages. The Chinese method is to count a child one year old at birth. In instances where Liang gives the date as well as the age e.g. in 1054 his appointment to the Redactorship of the Chi Hsien Yuan is given when he was 34. ~~It is evident that he is~~ using the Chinese method. Wang An Shih was born in 1021, so according to Western reckoning he would be 34 years of age in the year 1055. In general then we assume that Liang is following the Chinese method, so where he gives the age only and not the Chinese date, we have fixed the date at one year earlier than the foreign method of calculating would give.
2. Chan Ta Ho gives the date of 1046 for this appointment, but as we have remarked in the note on the Biographical table as compiled by him, this may be accounted for by the fact that Chan Ta Ho gives the date when the appointment was made public, while Liang may be giving the date when the appointment was actually taken up. It is quite possible that the mandate conferring the appointment was issued late in 1046, but that Wang An Shih proceeded to Yang Chow and actually took up his duties early in 1047.
Here again there is a discrepancy of one year between Chan Ta Ho and Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, probably accounted for by the same reason as that given in the preceding note.
4. Liang says that Wang An Shih refused this appointment. Certainly he did so at first. But according to Chan Ta Ho, the appointment to the Imperial Stud which was made at this time, was styled a concurrent (兼) appointment, which may be interpreted to mean that the Redactorship to the Library was also accepted.
5. Liang uses the expression 'wei' (為) in connection with this appointment, so it may be that there is no discrepancy here between him and Chan Ta Ho. The latter says this appointment was made in 1054. He may have held it for two years, and Liang simply states the fact that he was in this appointment at that particular time.
6. Liang makes the appointment at Ch'ang Chow a very short one, and the appointment as Chief Justice of Chiang - Tung a long one.
~~The two accounts agree again in 1060, when the appointment in the Board of Finance was taken up. See under Chapter where this discrepancy is discussed.~~
- Chan Ta Ho makes this appointment date in 1061, but in the 'T'ung Chien' under Chia Yu 5th year 5th month (1060) this appointment is said to have been offered then. Liang uses the same expression 'chao' (召) which may be interpreted to mean "called to the post". It may be that he waited until the following year before actually taking it up.
8. The 'T'ung Chien' dates this appointment as in the 6th month of the 5th year of Chia Yu (嘉祐) i.e. 1061, Chan Ta Ho makes it to take effect in 1062.
9. The 'T'ung Chien' gives the date of this appointment as the 12th month of 1070. Chan Ta Ho gives the 10th month of that year.
10. 'T'ung Chien' gives the 4th month of this year for his resignation.
11. If Wang An Shih proceeded to this appointment in 1076 his age would then be 56 only according to Chinese reckoning. Perhaps Liang reckons that he actually took up office the following year, when he would be 57 years old as stated.

Notes on the Sung Histories. (Prolegomena VI)

1. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 9.
2. do. p.9.
3. do. p.10.
4. do. p.10.
5. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang. Introduction to his "Investigation into the Biography of Wang Ching Kung." (王荆公年譜考略字) *the letter is in works Vol. 18. ps.*
6. See Under "T'ung Chien" Shao Sheng (紹聖) 1st year 12th month.
7. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 25. "Jih Lu" p.2.
8. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 25. "Jih Lu" (日錄) p.1.
9. "T'ung Chien" under "Shao Sheng" 1st year 4th month. Also Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.10 & 11.
- 9a. do. do.
10. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 25. p.3.
11. do. Vol. 25. p.5.
12. do. Vol. 25. p.2.
13. "T'ung Chien" under Shao Sheng (紹聖) 1st year 12th month.
14. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 25. p.6.
15. do. Vol. 25. p.6.
16. According to Ts'ai Shang Hsiang this mandate was issued in The period "Chien Yen" i.e. (建炎) early, so it would be 1127-8. It was however not completed until 1134 as stated.
17. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.12.
18. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 25. p.2.
19. See Translation in Prolegomena.
20. "Chu Tzu Ch'uan Chi" (朱子全書) Vol. 59. pp. 17-29. etc..
21. Such as for instance the "T'ung Chien Kang Mu" (通鑑綱目) *one of* which has been used as the main source of historical information in this work, and the *lives of famous officials - mingchen yen Hsing hu.* (名臣言行錄)
22. See Chu Hsi and His Masters, Dr J.P. Bruce. p.53.
23. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.13.

NOTES ON CHAPTER *Life of Wang An Shih according to Sung Histories*
(Prolegomena VII)

1. Province of Chiang Hsi, the modern Lin Ch'uan Hsien. (臨川縣)
2. "A position of some importance in connection with the Ministry of Finance. (都官員外郎) is *with responsibility for the accounts*."
3. This I take it to be the implication of the context. "The writer would convey the impression that Wang An Shih gained this degree, and his particularly lofty place in the list, *through* the influence of his patron."
4. The details of Wang An Shih's various official appointments will be discussed in the main body of this work, so are not commented upon in detail here.
5. This seems to have been the current procedure, and what follows *is by way of making the text clear*.
6. The text reads (王安石獨否), the character (獨) occupying a strongly adversative position. "He was the sole exception to the general rule" is what is implied.
7. Wen Yen Po was promoted Grand Councillor in the first month of 1043 and was dismissed from that office in the 10th month of 1051. His recommendation of Wang An Shih at this time was probably towards the close of his period of office in this appointment.
8. This would seem to mean that Wang An Shih might be excused the taking of the "kuan chih" examination. (see above). and possibly exempted from undergoing the one year's probation at the capital which usually followed on success at this examination. It might also mean the disregarding of the length of service in government employ which was another factor in the usual procedure of promotion.
9. (恬退). the characters are used together of a man living a quiet and retired life, as opposed to taking part in public life. See Giles Dictionary under Character No 11,220.
10. The character (激) usually means to stimulate, but that cannot be the meaning here. "There is one use of the character in connection with (刷) to wash away, as with a hose pipe, which gives a clue to the meaning in this passage. See Giles Dictionary under character No 336. (揚清激濁 *to promote purity by eliminating impurity*)"
11. This allusion to Wang's circumstances *gives a clue to the reason* ~~at this time accounts to~~ a large extent for his repeated refusals to proceed to the capital to take up any appointment there. He was better off in a provincial appointment than he would have been if he had proceeded to the capital and had to undergo probation without pay in one of the Bureaus there, and with correspondingly heavy expenses.
12. The dates in this record are very scanty and vague. See Biographical Tables for further details.
13. (果於自用) lit. "determined in furthering his own notions."
14. (萬言書) but actually only 3,565 words, near enough however to justify the appellation. A full translation of this important memorial is given in Chapter
15. (因天下之力以生天下之財取天下之財以供天下之費)
16. (苟且因循) "negligent and conventional."
17. (迂闊) is roundabout. (熟爛) ordinarily means thoroughly cooked, a metaphor for "well-known" "commonplace." Note that the synopsis of the memorial ends here.
18. The text reads (當國) which would seem to signify that Wang An Shih was then in supreme authority as Prime Minister. It was however during his office as vice-Grand Councillor that the *majority* of his important reforms were instituted.

19. (館閣之命) appointments to the various Government Bureaus at the capital.
20. (當勿論) probably meaning that no charge whatever ought to have been made.
21. i.e. Editors or copyists of the Imperial edicts, forming a kind of Censorate of mandates. Distinct from the ordinary Censorate either (御史臺) or (諫官) *the former being while the latter were specially responsible for the administration of the Emperor's conduct.*
22. If it became the law that edicts once issued could not be changed, ~~weaker officials would not dare to issue stringent orders, say punishing some person of high authority, as and there would be no one to share the responsibility with them.~~
23. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao's comment on this is that Wang An Shih was recommended together with Han Wei by Wen Yen Po, and together with Lu Kung Chu by Ou Yang Hsiu, so that as far as Han Wei and Lu Kung Chu recommending him is concerned, such action seems on the face of it unreasonable. But Han Wei certainly spoke for Wang An Shih later on, as the ensuing record shows. However, the imputation of the writer that Wang An Shih cultivated the acquaintance of influential families for his own purposes seems quite alien to his disposition and the facts. (See Chapter.
24. The characters (藩邸) mean "the court or capital of a feudatory prince". See Giles Dictionary under character No 3397.
25. The designation of this particular period of Shen Tsung's reign. In the times of the Sung dynasty these designations were frequently changed, usually because of some outstanding event of public importance taking place at the time.
26. See Chapter (共工, 驩兜, 三苗, 鯀) *History Book 1, Chp 8, par 12. But the 30 Chuan-chao 渾敦, 窮奇, 檮杌, 饕餮 who are probably the same persons under different names.*
27. i.e. Wang An Shih was supposed to possess only literary and not administrative qualifications.
28. The actual measure seems to have included the existing stocks of grain, as part, if not the whole of, the capital fund. See Chapter.
29. i.e. 永興 秦鳳 河北 京東 京西 京畿
30. One square was equal in area to 41 ch'ing, 66 mu, 160 pu. One ch'ing is equal to 15.13 acres, so the total area would be about 630 acres. See Giles Dictionary under character No 2195.
31. *Acc. to the Shen Hsueh Tsung Kao () Vol. 20, p. 13, the salaries of Government officials concerned were also to be covered by the receipts from this tax.*
32. The character of the various New laws and their effect is fully discussed in the main body of the present work. So criticism of this statement is reserved for detailed discussion later on. Chap. 34.
33. (帝為選辭謝)
34. (刺史) which according to Giles Dictionary No 12,412 is the equivalent of a district magistrate under the Sung Dynasty.
35. Probably based on the principle enunciated in Mencius, viz., (天視自我民視 天聽自我民聽) which is translated by Legge as follows, "Heaven sees according as my people see: Heaven hears according as my people hear." Mencius, Book V. Pt 1. Ch V. v. 3.
36. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao affirms that this is a fabrication. See Chapter 33 where the matter is discussed in detail.
37. Anything unusual in the natural order was interpreted as an omen of something wrong in the government. *The Tung chien has 81 篇.*
38. evidently a very subordinate office.
39. which is rendered by Giles (character 1154) as assistant sub prefect (1072 - 8th mth 1)

39. The normal practice in regard to the Imperial Ancestral temple was for it to contain seven tablets, five of the emperor's immediate ancestors, and two relatively more remote. The primordial position was usually occupied by the tablet of the most remote who was regarded as the founder of the Imperial line. This tablet occupied a position of sole honour on the west, or as the text reads (東向之位) facing east. The tablets of the other six were ranged three on each side, north and south respectively.

But there was no certainty as to who should occupy this position during the Sung dynasty, and so the primordial place had been left vacant.

When Ying Tsung died in 1067 the question of these tablets and their position became very acute, as in addition to the table of T'ai Tsu, T'ai Tsung, Chen Tsung and Jen Tsung, his immediate predecessors, there had been included also the tablets of Hsi Tsu, the great-great grandfather of Shen Tsung, and Shun Tsu, his great grand-father. That made seven in all, but no more than six places were possible, unless one tablet was moved into the primordial position.

There were some who thought that this position ought eventually to be reserved for T'ai Tsu, as being the one who had done most to establish the royal line, but on the other hand there were those who thought that the primordial position should be given to Hsi Tsu.

On the accession of Shen Tsung the question was solved by removing the tablet of Hsi Tsu to the reserved chamber (祧廟) and moving up the tablets of the others one place, still keeping the primordial position vacant.

However in the year 1072 the question was revived, and Wang An Shih supported the appeal of the Civil Office that the tablet of Hsi Tsu should be restored to the Imperial temple, and that it should occupy the primordial position. This was done on the ground that the ancestry of the Sung line prior to Hsi Tsu could not be ascertained, and so it was argued that his tablet should be kept in the primordial place in the Imperial Ancestral temple, just as the Shang Dynasty honoured the tablet of Hsieh (契) and the Chow dynasty the tablet of Chi (稷).

Wang An Shih had opposed the removal of the tablet of Hsi Tsu to the reserved chamber, so now as Prime Minister he supported its restoration, and placing it in the highest position (Taken from the Dynastic History of Sung, Li Chih (禮志) Vol. 106)

44a. The appearance of comets was regarded as an augury of ill omen. The particular position in the heavens in which these were first discernible was also regarded as signifying its particular reference to mundane affairs. There is confusion between this account in the Pen Chuan and that given in the Dynastic History of Chin Wu Ti's reign. In the latter the comet which appeared in the "Chen" (軫) constellation is given as appearing in the 10th year of his reign, while in the Sung History it is given as appearing in the 5th year. There were comets however in both the 5th and the 10th year of his reign. Following the Dynastic History of Chin Wu Ti as being more likely to be correct, we note that the comet which appeared in the 5th year was regarded as foretelling the death of some member of the royal family, so in the 10th year the death of the empress is recorded as being related to the appearance of this comet. War in the Ch'u region was evidently supposed to be the concomitant of the appearance of the comet in the 10th year. But in one or other of these cases, there was supposed to be

44a. (cont).

supposed to be indicated the demise of the emperor at a date earlier than that on which his reign terminated. It is to this fallacious prognostication on the part of the astrologers that Wang An Shih refers *refers* ~~indicates~~ in this passage.

I have been unable to relate the year 'I Ssu' (乙巳) to the reign of Chin Wu Ti. Perhaps this is an error in copying?

(Taken from the Dynastic History of Chin Wu Ti, "T'ien^{Wang} Chih"
(天文志) Vol.13.p.16.

Government Assembly. He was already head of the Chief Legislative Assembly (中書省) and he held the chief position in the Chief Administrative Assembly (尚書省) and also as before the chief position in the Chief Record Office (秘書省).

44. Cf. Large Book of History, Part V. No. 27, par. 4. and in fact the whole of the section, which is entitled "Against Luxurious Rites" (節儉).

45. I.e. Chu Chia of Chang (鄭子產) of some repute as a reformer, mentioned by Wang An Shih as one who had carried out measures similar to his own. See Chapter

46. The idea in the emperor's mind seems to be what he should try to avoid calamities of the natural order which ~~arise from the natural order~~ and therefore try to avoid giving them ground for calamities in matters which are in the power of the government to arrange.

47. Ou Ch'ia (歐陽) was the leader of the anti-Ju in war party at the period of the latter states' rise to power. He advocated an alliance of the six states to the east of Ch'ia, viz., Wei, Chao, Wei, Han, Lu and Ch'i in a north and south line, and so this was called the "North-South" (約法) or Perpendicular Alliance. Chang I (張儀) on the other hand sought to ally the states on an east-west line, in favour of Ch'ia, by successful measures. Their party was termed the "East-West" or Horizontal Alliance. (連橫). These terms later came to be used as any sort of divisive or faction-making policy, the person advocating it being termed a "Horizontal Ch'ia" (縱橫家).

48. Feng Chien was a comparatively small official. For him to recommend the relations of Wang An Shih, the Grand Councillor, was presumption.

49. The text reads as though the emperor was dissatisfied with Wang An Shih's conduct. But may not his dissatisfaction have been with Wang An Shih's determination to resign, and not with any flaw in his conduct or the character of his policy?

Observing now we are to account for the measures with which he lost a son? ~~the emperor's dissatisfaction with him~~

50. (附錄別錄) The question of Wang An Shih's attitude to this particular class, about which the Hanfeizi were so sensitive, is discussed in the main body of the work, see Chap.

51. I.e. (蘇老泉) the father of Su Chia and Su Shi, famous writers.

52. Full name is given under Chapter

53. There are several mentions of Wang An Shih in the works, which are quoted in the Appendix Wang An Shih's private policy, see Chap. 24.

- direct all
40. A tax on the Trade Guilds in the capital. (See Chapter)
 41. There is no evidence of the emperor's doubting Wang An Shih at this or any other period.
 42. Some alterations were made, such as the 'Personal Testimony Measure' initiated by Lu Hui Ch'ing during Wang An Shih's absence and also the banishment of Cheng Hsieh, which was foreign to Wang An Shih's policy ^{in connection with the treatment of} his political opponents.
 43. These two offices made him supreme in each of the three Government Assemblies. He was already head of the Chief Legislative ~~Executive~~ Assembly (中書省) now he held the chief positions in the Chief Administrative Assembly (尚書省) and also as before the chief position in the Chief Record Office. (門下省)
 44. Cf. Legge Book of History, Part V. Bk XV, par. 4. and in fact the whole of the section, which is entitled 'Against Luxurious Ease' (無逸)
 45. i.e. Tzu Ch'an of Cheng (鄭子產) of some repute as a reformer, mentioned by Wang An Shih as one who had carried out measures similar to his own. See Chapter
 46. The idea in the emperor's mind seems to be that ^{he wished the people to be free} we should try ^{may be regarded as best and men's} to avoid calamities of the natural order which ^{should rule} ~~arise~~ and therefore all the more seek to avoid giving them ground for complaint in matters which are in the power of the government to arrange.
 47. Su Ch'in (蘇秦) was the leader of the anti-Ch'in war party at the period of the latter States' rise to power. He advocated an alliance of the six states to the east of Ch'in, viz., Hsiao, Chao, Wei, Yen, Lu and Ch'i in a north and south line, and so this was called the 'Yueh Tsung' (約縱) or Perpendicular Alliance. Chang I (張儀) on the other hand sought to ally the states on an east-west line, in favour of Ch'in, by more peaceful Measures. Their party was termed the 'Lien Heng' or Horizontal Alliance. (連橫). These terms later came to be used of any sort of divisive or faction-making policy, the person advocating it being termed a 'Tsung Heng Chia' (縱橫家)
 48. Teng Chien was a comparatively small official. For him to recommend the relations of Wang An Shih, the Grand Councillor, was presumption.
 49. The text reads as though the emperor was dissatisfied with Wang An Shih's conduct. But may not his dissatisfaction have been with Wang An Shih's determination to resign, and not with any flaw in his conduct, or the character of his policy? Otherwise how are we to account for the honours with which he loaded him? ^{49^a The Biographical tables all agree in making him 66 at death (Chinese reckoning)}
 50. (斷爛朝報) The question of Wang An Shih's attitude to this particular classic, about which the Confucianists were so sensitive, is discussed in the main body of the work. See Chap.
 51. i.e. (蘇老泉) the father of Su Shih and Su Che. See Appendices P. V. XI.)
 52. Full note is given under Chapter
 53. Chu Hsi has several sections on Wang An Shih in his works, which are quoted in the Chapter on Wang An Shih's reform policy. See Chapter 34.

1. Outlines of Chinese History, by Li Ung Ping. p.171.
2. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.15.
3. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.16.
4. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.17.
5. Outlines of Chinese History. p.177.
6. Outlines of Chinese History. p.178.
7. Outlines of Chinese History. p.180.
8. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. pp.18 & 19.
9. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.20.
10. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. pp.20 & 21. *for notes $q^a q^b q^c q^d$ see below.*
11. Economic History of China, by Mabel Ping-Hua Lee Ph.D. p.74.
12. do. do. do. pp.78 & 79.
13. do. do. do. p.279.
14. Sung Lun Chuen Liu. (宋論卷六) quoted Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.21.
15. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.22.
16. Prose Works, Vol.10. pp.5-7.
17. e.g. Ssu Ma Kuang.
18. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao pp. 35-39.
19. Cf Article on Political Parties of the Northern Sung Dynasty, by Dr J.C. Ferguson. Journal of N. China Branch of R.A.S. Vol. LVIII.
20. Dr Ferguson gives the following causes for the downfall of the Sung Dynasty and its migration to the south, viz.,
 - (1) Fierce assaults along the whole northern frontier by militant tribes, and the urgent necessity of supporting large armies for the defence of empire.
 - (2) conscription of a large proportion of the young men of the country to serve in the army.
 - (3) large increase in the taxes directly levied upon the people.
 - (4) extravagance of the emperors, culminating in the person of the last emperor, Hui Tsung.
 - (5) the prevalence of superstitious beliefs.
 - (6) the lack of a sufficient number of trained men.
- 9a. This relates to the royal sacrifice at T'ai Shan (泰山) situated to the east of K'ai Feng Fu, hence called "Eastern Ordinance". This sacrifice was also known as "Feng Ch'ao" (封禪) the former character of which means a mound of earth on the mountain at which the worship of Heaven was conducted, and the latter character meaning, a levelling of the ground on some lower peak, at which the worship of Earth took place. This sacrifice usually took place at the invitation of the local people, in honour of the emperor's virtue and good reign. At this, as on other occasions of great ceremony, the officials and people received some special favours from the ruler. (*Sung Shih, Li Chih. Vol 57. section 71*)
- 9b. The "Ssu Fen" was a sacrificial ceremony taking place in the modern Shanai, in the neighbourhood of Fenchowfu. The modern city is located on the north bank of the Fen river, and is usually called Fung Yang. (汾陽) As this sacrificial ceremony is related to have taken place at Fen Yin (汾陰) the location must have been on the south of the Fen river, possibly just opposite the modern city. It would appear as though the ceremony here had

Particular relationship to the God of Earth, styled Huang Ti Ch'i. (皇帝祇) The writer has noticed all through the district, stones in the fields bearing the inscription "Hou Tzu Chih Wei" (后土之位) which shows how prevalent the worship of the god of earth was in that neighbourhood. (Sung Shih, Li Chih, Vol 57, Sec. 7)

- 9c. The adding of honorific titles to the Emperor's name usually took place at the request of important officials, and was regarded as an occasion of mutual congratulation and conferring of gifts. This is what is meant by "shang pao te'e" (上寶冊) Li Chih, Vol 63¹³.
- 9d. The "ming t'ang" (明堂) was the great Royal Hall of Ceremonies. Here not only did the great Imperial sacrifices take place, but also the Imperial sacrifices to Shang Ti. (上帝). Here too were held audiences with visiting princes, and gifts conferred on old servants of the dynasty, as well as on those of special merit. (Z'u Guan).

Notes on Chapter 1.

1. The character 益 (益) in his father's name of Wang I (王益) means "Increase". But the idea signified by his original literary designation "Sun Chih" is that of "Decrease". Chang Yung thought the latter idea inconsistent with the hope of progress which the submitted essay justified. So he took the character 益 (益) which was also the name of one of Shun's most famous ministers, viz. (伯益), and transferred the idea of that to the new literary "style" which he now conferred, making it "Shun Liang" (舜良) translated as in the text.
2. See his "Hsien Tai Fu Shu" (先大夫述). Prose Works Vol 17.
3. Chin Shih (進仕) i.e. a graduate of the third degree in Literature.
4. ~~This gives some idea as to the date when the "Hsien Tai Fu Shu" was written. Hsien Yen would be his third official appointment. He would be about 23 when he took his degree, and allowing three years, the usual period, at each of his former posts, he would be about 30 when he left Hsien Yen, or the year would be 1034. Add thirty years to that and we have 1063-4, the year of his grandmother's death. As this Biographical Memoir was composed on the occasion of his father's funeral, it is quite likely that both grandmother and father were buried at the same time. It was nothing unusual for a poor family to delay burial of one member of the family for a considerable time, and to bury two or more at the same time to save expense.~~ *according to Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol 3. P. 8.*
5. Ling Hai (嶺海) the district of Kuang Tung between the mountains and the sea.
6. The Chinese try to get home to their parents if at all possible at New Year time.
7. See his "Hsien Tai Fu Chi Hou". (先大夫集序) Prose Vol. 17.
8. See Commentary on Poem entitled "Reminiscences" (憶昨詩示諸外弟) Poems Vol 20. p. 6.
9. Ch'ing Chiang Hsien is in Chiang Hsi province. Wang An Shih was born during the term of his father's service there as adjutant (P'an Kuan 判官) to the Prefect of Lin Chiang. (臨江) Taken from the Ancient Records of Ch'ing Chiang Hsien (清江縣志) quoted by Ts'ai Shang Hsiang (蔡上翔) in his Biography of Wang An Shih (王荊公年譜考略) Vol. 1. p. 1.
10. Wang An Shih's father was born in 994, and gained his Chin Shih degree in 1015. (Ts'ai Shang Hsiang op. cit. Vol. 1. pp. 2 ~ 3.
11. According to Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Wang An Shih's father returned from Shao Chow in 1033, to keep the mourning period for his father. In 1036 Wang An Shih accompanied his father to the capital, probably to await further official appointment. This was granted in 1037, when he was appointed to Chien K'ang, (建康) another name for Chiang Ning. Ts'ai says the character "Ch'ang" (昌) is a mistake for "K'ang" Op. cit. Vol. 1. pp 2 & 3.

Notes on Chapter 11.

1. See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 9. pp 4 & 5. The names of the brothers in order as there given are as follows:- An Jen (安仁) An Tao (安道) step-brothers of Wang An Shih, then An Shih himself (安石) An Kuo, (安國) An Shih (安世) An Li (安禮) and An Shang. (安上)
2. I.e. (宋史本傳) The Biographical Notices are translated in Chapter of this Work.
3. See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol.9. p.5. The second daughter was married to Chu Ning Chih (朱明之) the third to Shen Li Chang (沈季長) of Yang Chow. (揚州).
4. In the Obituary Notice written by Wang An Shih on the death of his eldest sister, he describes himself as her elder brother (兄) The composition of the text of this Notice was by the pen of Wang An Shih, but it was actually written out by his youngest brother An Shang. See Works Vol. 24. p.22.
5. Biographical Section of the Sung Histories (宋史本傳) Life of Wang An Shih.
6. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol.1. p.3. Also Works Vol. 17 p. 29, where he says that "in the year 1033 he accompanied his father from Shao Chow, and met Wang ~~Chong~~ Chung (方仲永) at the home of his uncle". (The expression "Ming Tao Chung" (明道中) must relate to either 1032 or 1033, as there were only two years with that designation. The probability is that it was in 1033, as lower down he talks of his return from Yang Chow seven years later. That date is well confirmed as being in 1043. But Wang An Shih was at home three years after his return from Shao Chow, so it might well be that the interview referred to took place in 1036.)
7. See Poem, entitled Reminiscences, below.
8. The old name of Chiang Ning was Chien K'ang. (建康) Ts'ai Shang Hsiang is of opinion that the Chien Ch'ang (建昌) in the text of this poem must be an error for Chien K'ang. There is such a place as Chien Ch'ang, which is the modern Nan Ch'eng (南城) in Chiang Hsi province, not far from Lin Ch'uan (臨川) Wang's ancestral home. But there is no record of his father holding office there, whereas it is well known that he assumed the governorship of Chiang Ning or Chien K'ang, at this time. (See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 1. p.3. 建康)
9. See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol.1. p.1. Wang An Shih's father died at the age of 46, having been born in 994. The Chinese way of reckoning ages one year in advance of the Western custom accounts for the apparent discrepancy of one year. In the case of Wang An Shih we have endeavoured to keep to the Western way of reckoning. There is a note here that both Wang An Shih's father and mother were buried at Chiang Ning.
10. See Works Vol.21.p.3. Memorial Essay on his friend Li T'ung Shu.
11. See Poem "Reminiscences" below, where Wang An Shih refers to his keeping of the three years' Mourning period for his father. His father died in the second month of 1039. But we need not posit a full three years for the mourning period, as it was quite customary to allow twenty-seven months as sufficient for this period. It would probably be late in 1041 when Wang An Shih went to the capital. The examination he ~~took~~ ^{was waiting to take} is termed the Board of Rites Examination, by Ts'ai Shang Hsiang. Vol. 1. p.1. It was probably a preliminary to the examination for the Chin Shih degree.
12. Works. Vol. 21.p.3.

13. Chan Ta Ho's Biographical Table of Wang An Shih, prefixed to Poetical Works of Wang An Shih. (詹大和王荆文公年譜)
Ts'ai Shang Hsiang notes that the names of Wang Hsuei (王珪) and Han Chiang (韓絳) were found together with Wang An Shih name on this list. "I became member of the Grand Council later. Vol.2. p. 1.
14. Pen Chuan. (本傳)
15. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao in Yin Ping Shih Ts'ung Ch'ao. (飲水室叢集)
Life of Wang An Shih. Chap. 5 p.25.
16. Tseng Kung. (曾鞏) also styled Tseng Tzu Ku (曾子固) a great friend of Wang An Shih in his youth, and throughout his life, wrote two letters to Ou Yang Hsiu, one in 1041, and the other in 1042. Both of these may have been written prior to Wang An Shih gaining his Chin Shih degree. However in neither of these is there any mention of Wang An Shih. Moreover in a letter written by Ou Yang Hsiu evidently in reply to the second of these, ~~letters~~, sending him an introduction for some work, ~~entitled~~ "Hsin Ts'at" (新說) he makes no reference to Wang An Shih. As there are no other evidences of correspondence passing between them at this time, we conclude that the statement in the Pen Chuan must have reference to this letter written either in 1044 or 1045. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang dates it in the 5th month of 1044, as Tseng Kung wrote a letter to Ts'ai Shen Hsin (蔡深信) at that time in which he uses almost identical terminology to that used in the letter to Ou Yang Hsiu about Wang An Shih. Ts'ai traces the statement in the Pen Chuan to the Work of Ssu Ma Kuang, entitled, Wen Kung So Yü (溫公瑣語) and quotes it as an instance of deliberate falsification of the facts. (See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol.2. p.2. and Vol.3. p.1. also p.3.
17. Poetical Works. Vol.20.p.5.
18. See Note 8 above.
19. Chi (稷) Hsieh (契) famous worthies of the Yao-Shun regime
20. The hu-pan (笏版) ivory tablet, part of the official insignia
21. Huai-Nan (淮南) a political treatise of the Sung times, covering modern An Hui, Chiang Su and part of Che Chiang.

Notes on Chapter 111.

1. Chan Ta Ho's Biographical Table. Yang Chow is situated in modern Chiang Su province, a few miles north of the Yang Tzu river, and on the west bank of the Grand Canal.
2. See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 3.p.1. where it is stated that Han Ch'i left Yang Chow in the ~~fifth month of the~~ third month of 1045. Ts'ai also quotes the statement of the Wen Chien Lu (聞見錄) included in the text, and some others of kindred meaning *which were written* with intent to disparage the friendship of Wang An Shih with such a worthy man. However the whole thing is very clumsily done, as witness the poem quoted in the text, and also the statement that Wang An Shih had really been working hard at his books, and not spending the night in carousing as the Wen Chien Lu would ~~make out~~ Han Ch'i *to have* suspected.
3. Works Vol. 18. p.28. Letter "Shang Hsu Ping Pu Shu" (上徐兵部書)
4. See Poem "Reminiscences" quoted in Chap.11.
5. Works, Vol.17.p.29. "Shang Chung Yung." (傷仲永)
6. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol.2.p.4. Yun Lin T'u Chi Shu Hou. (雲林圖記書後)
7. Works. Vol.17.p.29. "T'ung Hsueh I Shou Pieh Tzu Ku." (同學一首別子固)
8. Works Vol. 18. p.28. as Note 3 above.
9. See Note 2 (above) One wonders whether this is the source of the tradition that Wang An Shih rarely washed his clothes or took a bath.
10. ~~Works Vol.20.p.17.~~
11. I.e. the "Kuan Chih" (館職)
12. See His essay on Promotion of Officials "Chin Shuo" (進說) translated later on in this Work.
13. Works Vol.2. p.30 and 31. (丙戌五月京師作二首)
14. Vol.24.p.3.
15. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol.3. p.3.
16. do. do. Vol.3. p.4 and 5.
17. i.e. (鄞縣) Chan Ta Ho puts the appointment in 1046. But it must have been late in the year
18. Sung Shih Pen Chuan. (宋史本傳)
19. Works Vol.18. p.22.
20. Works Vol.20.p.7.
21. Works Vol.24. p.26.
22. Poetical Works, Vol.48.p.9.
23. do. do.
24. Works Vol. 13. p. 12. (*he returned home next year to bury his father*)
25. Works Vol 13. p.30.
26. Poetical Works, Vol.47. p. 13. (*Probably the absence was due to his father's funeral*)
27. ~~RKS~~ Works Vol.20.p.7.
28. Sung Shih Pen Chuan. (宋史本傳)
29. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. op.cit. p.46. *also Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol.4.p.4. (The extract quoted here refers to Wang An Shih as already in office at Shih Chow.)*
30. do. do. p.53.

Notes on Chapter 1V.

1. See letter referred to under Note 5 (below). There is confirmatory evidence that Wang An Shih returned from Chin Hsien in 1050 in his Inscription written for the San Ch'ing Tien (三清殿) at Fu Chow. (撫州). This is dated the 25th of the 5th month of 1050. Fu Chow was the prefecture in which his own home Lin Ch'uan was located. Works Vol.20.p.13.
2. Sung Biography.
3. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao.p.46.
4. Sung Biography.
5. Works. Vol.9. p.12.
6. (殿中丞) An honorary title indicating rank or grade in the official service. There was a Department at the Capital styled the "Tien Chung Sheng" (殿中省) which was concerned with the affairs of the Imperial Household, such as food, clothes, residence, medicine, equipment and the like. Wang An Shih was given the rank of a third-class Chamberlain. This carried no actual responsibilities for affairs.
7. Biographical Table of Chan Ta Ho.
8. i.e. "Shu Kuo Kung" (舒國公) Biographical Table.
9. Poetical Works, Vol.36.p.6.
10. do. do.
11. do. Vol.17.p.5.
12. Referring to the land system of the Yin or Shang Dynasty, under which the land was divided up into areas of fixed dimensions. These were subdivided into nine squares, the middle square being cultivated by the farmers of the other eight plots conjointly, the proceeds of the middle plot being regarded as Government revenue. The system was styled the "Ching T'ien Chih Fa" (井田之法). The total area of the big plot was 630 acres or Mou (畝). The character "ching" illustrates the idea in its form. (井) Cf Legge, Works of Mencius, p.240.
13. Odes, Legge's edition of the Chinese Classics, Vol.15.p.226.
14. I am following Chan Ta Ho here. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol.4.p.11, and Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.46. both make this recommendation for the Censorate to date 1056.
15. Wang An Shih's grandmother died this year, the tombstone inscription being composed by Tseng Tzu Ku. (Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 4.p.11. Also Biographical Table of Chan Ta Ho.)
16. Works. Vol.13.p.15. 17. Works, Vol.9.pp.12 & 13.
17. I.e. An Jen (安仁) who died in 1051, and was buried 1052. Works Vol.24.p.1. and An Tao. (安道) See Works Vol.9.p.12. where he relates the death of his two elder brothers and his grandmother, also a sister-in-law.
18. Works Vol.9.p.13.
19. One of the three Government Organs at the Capital, concerned with civil affairs. These were styled respectively the Chung Shu Sheng (中書省) which would seem to have been the Chief Legislative Organ, the Shang Shu Sheng (尚書省) which was the Executive Organ, and the Men Hsia Sheng (門下省) which was the Chief Record Office, and exercised other functions such as the conduct of Ceremonial Affairs etc.,
20. Works, Vol.9.pp.13 & 14.
21. Works Vol.13.p.7.
22. Su Ma Kuang terms Wang An Shih "Hsien erh p'i" (賢而懷) acknowledging his worth and deploring his obstinacy at the same time. See the "Tzu Chih T'ung Chien Hsu Pien" (資治通鑑續編) hereafter termed the "Tung Chien".

Notes on Chapter V.

1. ~~After the death of a father, the family responsibilities devolve on the eldest son.~~
2. Biographical Table of Chen Ta Ho. The character used is "chien" (兼) indicating that the appointment was in addition to some other post held at the same time.
3. Sung Biography.
4. Biographical Table. Wang Feng Yuan likens Wang An Shih to the phoenix, one of the four great emblematical creatures of Chinese tradition. In this the phoenix is regarded as the most intelligent of the winged family, and was symbolic of the inauguration of a golden age. The implication is that Wang An Shih was regarded as a very exceptional man, and destined to do great things for his country. The other three emblematical creatures are the dragon, unicorn and the tortoise.
5. See Works, Vol. 15. p. 31, where in the letter of thanks for his appointment to Ch'ang Chow (常州) he mentions that he had been favoured with a district appointment in the Capital district, but that before there had been the chance to test his capacity in that post, he had been transferred at his own request to a more convenient position. (i.e. Ch'ang Chow, which was nearer his home.)
6. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 5. p. 8. where Ou Yang Hsiu recommends Wang An Shih with three others.
7. Works, Vol. 13. p. 14. "Shang Chih Cheng Shu". (上執政書)
8. Biographical Table of Chen Ta Ho.
9. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 5. p. 8. letter of recommendation by Ou Yang Hsiu, in which Wang An Shih is referred to as "T'ai Ch'ang Po Shih" (太常博士) concurrently with his being in the Imperial Stud. (羣牧判官)
10. Works, Vol. 15. p. 31.
11. Works Vol. 13. p. 16. Letter No 3 to Ou Yang Hsiu.
12. Poetical Works, Vol. 34. p. 9.
13. Works Vol 19. pp. 6 & 7. (知常州上中書啟) & (知常州上監司啟)
14. There is some divergence of view between the authorities on the date of Wang An Shih's appointment to this post. In this I am following Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, and Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 5. p. 10, and also Vol. 5. p. 13.
15. The commentary on Wang's Poetical Works, styled Li Chu, (李注) in Ts'ai Shang Hsiang's Work, indicates a definite date for this appointment as the 2nd month of 1058. See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 6. p. 1.
- 14^a Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol 5. p. 12. (Shang Ts'eng Ts'an Cheng Shu" / (上曾參政書)

NOTES ON CHAPTER VI.

1. i.e. "T'i Tien Hsing Yu" (提點刑獄).
2. Biographical Table.
3. Poetical Works Vol. 31. p. 9. The Wang Tsun quoted in this poem was an official of the Han Dynasty. When travelling to a new appointment in Sau Ch'uan they came to a very dangerous pass. The muleteer was inclined to turn back, But Wang Tsun urged him forward saying that risks must be taken in the service of the State. A later appointee named Wang Yang turned back at this particular point in order to save his skin. An Shih dare not compare himself with Wang Tsun for he realised that he was ^{himself} braving the dangers of the road in the first instance in the interests of his family, as that was the main reason for his entering upon official life. So this led him rather to think of Mao I (毛義) of the Later Han times, who on receiving the news of his first official appointment wept for joy, as it afforded him the means of keeping his family from poverty. Later however after his mother's death, he resolutely refused to take up any other appointment, as the necessity for earning such money as official life afforded no longer existed. See Commentary on this poem, also "Tz'u Yuan" in loco.
4. Prose Works Vol 13. p. 36. (i.e. he should not take office at a time when his condition could not be carried out.).
5. ditto. Vol 13. p. 35.
6. ditto. Vol 20. p. 17.
7. ditto. Vol 13. p. 19.
8. i.e. "Wing" (命).
9. Shen P'o Yang (沈都陽) Poetical Works Vol. 31. p. 10.
10. Chow Lien Hsi is Chow Tun I (周敦頤) one of the five great philosophers of the Sung Dynasty. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao after a close inspection of the biographies of of Chow and Wang concludes that they could not have met at all. He further adduced the fact that the particular quotation in Tu Cheng's work is from the writings of Hsing Shu (邢恕) an adherent of the two Ch'engs i.e. Ch'eng I (程頤) and Ch'eng Hao (程顥) who were of the same "School" as Chow, and who were eventually enrolled among the opponents of Wang An Shih's reform policy. He therefore disposes of the incident as a fabrication begotten of the prejudices of an opposing faction.
11. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 3. pp. 3-10.
12. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 40.
13. Sung Biography. see Prolegomena VIII pp 30-31.
14. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 40.
15. i.e. the T'ung Chien Hsu Pien. (通鑑續編)
16. Vol 13. of Works p. 6. This is one of seven letters written to Wang Shen Fu, which are found in his Works. He died in 1065, (See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 12. p. 5.)
17. Works Vol. 17. p. 22.
18. Works Vol. 1. pp. 19 & 20.
19. Works, Vol. 24. p. 3.
20. do. do.
21. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 7. p. 3. Also Works Vol. 2. p. 4.

NOTES ON CHAPTER VII.

1. The title 'Wen Yen Shu' is that given to this memorial in the Dynastic History of Sung, in the Biographical Notice of Wang An Shih. It means literally the memorial of 10,000 words. The actual number of words is 8,565. The title given to this memorial in Wang An Shih's own Works, is that of 'A discussion of (current) affairs', translated as at the head of the Chapter.
2. I.e. the two emperors and three kings, by which are meant Yao, Shun, Yu, T'ang and Wen-Wu, the last two being regarded as one, for Wen Wang never actually ruled as king. Credit however must be given to him for initiating the campaign against Chow, the notorious last emperor of the Shang Dynasty, so he is usually included together with his more martial confrere. Yao and Shun belong to the pre-historical period, but are usually dated as 2357-2205 B.C. Yu initiated the Hsia Dynasty in 2205 B.C. T'ang the Shang or Yin Dynasty in 1766 B.C. and Wu Wang founded the Chow Dynasty in 1122 B.C. As model rulers they represent the traditional Golden Age of Chinese history, though the Dynasties they founded in each case ended up ingloriously.
3. Legge's Chinese Classics, Vol 11. Book LV. Pt 1. Cp. 1. v. 2.
4. Wang An Shih's hope in this connection was never realized, as his proposals excited the most vehement opposition.
5. I.e. through the Circuit of Chiang Tung (江東)
6. Cf. Legge's Chinese Classics, Vol. 11. Book 1V. Pt 1. Cp 1. v. 3
7. Cf. do. do. Vol. 1V. Part 11. Book 1. Pt. 111. Ode V
8. An interpretation of Ode in Legge, Vol. 1V. Part 1. Bk. 1. Ode 8.
9. Cf Legge, Vol. 1V. Part 111. Book 1. Ode 1V.
10. do. do. do. Ode 1V.
11. B.C. 827-781.
12. Legge, Vol. 1V. Part 111. Book 111. Ode VI.
13. Cf Legge, X Vol 1V. Part 11. Book 111. Ode 1V. kxxxxxx
14. The 'hsiang' (鄉) was an area comprising 12,500 families, and the 'tang' (黨) an area comprising 500 families.
15. Book of Rites (禮記) Chinese edition, Vol. 3. Book 1.
16. Cf Legge, Vol. 111. Part V. Book X. par. 14.
17. Cf Legge, Vol. 111. Part 11. Book 1. Cp. VI. par. 27.
18. The four infamous ministers, (共工驩兜, 三苗鯀,) Kung Kung, Huan Tou, San Miao, and Kun.
19. I.e. Kao Yao, or Kao T'ao, Chi, and Hsieh.
20. I.e. the 'pi' or unit of five families, the 'lu' of twenty-five, the 'tsu' of 100, and the 'tang' of 500 families. (比閭族黨)
21. I.e. the 'wu' of five men, the 'liang' of 25, the 'tsu' of 100, the 'lu' of 500, and the 'shih' of 2,500, and the 'chun' of 10,000 men. (伍兩卒旅師軍) from Chow Kuan Hsin I.
22. Book of Changes, Chinese edition, 'Hsi Ts'e, Hsia Chuan, (繫辭) Cp. 2. p. 19.
23. A note by Yao Nai (姚鼐) of Ch'ien Lung's day A.D. 1736-1796, says that this section beginning, 'It is of course well known... to "absolutely fundamental" should be interchanged with the section below beginning "It may be urged maintaining them".
24. 'Hsien Kuan' (縣官) the Court.
25. This and the following paragraph are the section proposed by Yao Nai as the section to be interchanged with section denoted by 23. (above.)
26. Yao Nai (姚鼐) says the character 'chih' (治) should be 'yang' (養). maintain.
27. I.e. (which is defined in the T'zu yüan, as knowledge of the Classic.

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22.

27. (隸蟲篆刻) the "tadpole" style of writing, said to have been invented by the wife of one Ch'iu Hu (秋胡) of Lu. (魯). So these characters are used to denote inferior or minor literary gifts, especially in referring to oneself. "Yü Guan".

28. Book of History. Part V. Book 1. Pt. 1. Par. 5.

29. Legge, Chinese Classics, Vol. IV. Part 11. Bk. V. Ode. 1. v. 5.

30. Cf. Legge, Mencius, Book 11. Pt. 1. Ch. 1. par. 5. and also. Bk. VI. Pt. 11. Ch. VIII. pars. 6 & 7.

31. (主父偃) of the time of Han Wu Ti, B.C. 140-86.

32. i.e. the concern of the ruler that their people should be unable to perform certain duties.

33. i.e. the ruler's concern at his own inability.

34. Cf. Legge, Vol. IV. Part 111. Bk. 1. Ode VII. v. 3.

35. A.D. 627-650.

Notes on Chapter VIII.

1. T'ung Chien, Chia Yu (嘉祐) 5th year, 5th month. i.e. 1060.
2. i.e. San Su To Chih P'an Kuan. (三司度支判官)
3. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol.3. pp 1 & 2. Also Works Vol.13. p.13.
4. Works Vol.20. pp 2 & 3.
5. Works Vol.13. p.22.
6. The Biographical Table of Chan Ta Ho, says "haun" (尋) i.e. short
7. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol.3. pp.4 & 5.
8. Works Vol. 10. p.7. (相度牧馬所舉薛向劄子) *The actual recommendation was made later.*
9. Works Vol 2. 2. p.12. (哭梅聖俞) and Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol.3. pp.3 & 4.
10. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang. Vol. 3. pp.12 & 13.
- 10a. Sung Biography i.e. "Chih Chi Hsien Yuan" (直集賢院)
11. Sung Biography.
12. i.e. the "Kuan Chih" (館職)
13. T'ung Chien, under Chia Yu (嘉祐) 5th year, 5th month.
14. i.e. "T'ung Hsiu Ch'i Chu Chu" (同修起居注)
15. Sung Biography.
16. Works, Vol.9. pp.14 -15.
17. Works. Vol. 9. pp.16-17. Note the characters "tsai Tz'u" (再辭) a second times refusal.
18. Biographical Table.
19. i.e. the "Kung Fu Lang Chung" (工部郎中) Biographical Table
20. i.e. Chih Chih Kao. (知制誥) The T'ung Chien, refers this appointment to the 5th month of 1061.
21. i.e. the "Kuan Kan San Pan Yuan" (管幹三班院)
22. Sung Biography.
23. do.
24. "T'ung Chien".
25. Biographical Table.
26. Works Vol.9.p.13.
27. The prescribed period ~~for~~ ^{for} mourning a deceased mother was three years, but for official purposes the period was shortened.
28. Sung Biography.
29. Liu Hsiang was his loyal adviser and minister. It was his resistance that Liu Hsiang saved his position at the beginning of the reign of Shao, and how he continued to listen to his counsel he could not have suffered the crushing defeat at the Marston Yu (大) which led to his eventual and death of grief.
30. Kao (高) is Yang. Minister of Justice under Yao, also under Shun. Kao (高) was Minister of War.
31. Kao (高) was Minister of Education under Shun.
32. Kao (高) was Minister of Agriculture.
33. i.e. Kao (高) S.C. 1. 4-106. Kao (高) for the first time, the way in which he obtained his position as able minister, he was the first to be appointed as such.
34. In his search for a successor to his place as Minister he is said to have considered 600 and to have had 6000

1. "T'ung Chien". (通鑑)
2. i.e. Han Wei. (韓維)
3. "Chi Shih" (記室)
4. "Shu Tzu" (太子庶子)
5. "Pen Chuan." (本傳)
6. Prose Works Vol. 3. p. 35.
7. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p. 46.
8. See Chapter (below) *Idiogomena VI.*
9. See Chapter VI. above.
10. "His grandmother, mother and father were all dead at this time.
11. See below.
12. "T'ung Chien" 13. "T'ung Chien". (通鑑).
14. "Kung Kuan" (宮觀) residences conferred upon retired or sick officials who were of special merit. Each carried certain emoluments by way of pension.
15. Prose Works Vol. 9. p. 13.
16. Biographical Table. *see note 40 below*
17. Prose Works. Vol. 15. p. 5.
18. "T'ung Chien" (通鑑).
19. "T'ung Chien" (通鑑).
20. "Han Lin Hsueh Shih" (翰林學士).
21. "Fu Pi" (富弼).
22. "T'ung Chien" (通鑑) also "Pen Chuan" (本傳).
23. Emperor A.D. 627-649. "One of the greatest rulers that China ever had. His reign of twenty-two years formed the "Golden Age" of the T'ang Dynasty. He gathered about him the best ability of the day, both among statesmen and soldiers. Under the guidance of Wei Cheng (魏徵) among others, he established a government which was the model for subsequent ages... Learning was encouraged and schools were founded. Government methods were reformed. At the same time he did not neglect the military branch of the service. Many of the border tribes that had been making trouble upon the frontier of China with immunity were now taught that a stronger hand had assumed the direction of affairs." (Outlines of Chinese History by Li Ung Ping).
24. B.C. 2357-2205. The Model rulers of Chinese traditional history.
25. "Shih Chiang" (侍講) "Pen Chuan" (本傳)
26. "T'ung Chien" (通鑑) also "Pen Chuan" (本傳).
27. See Note No 23 above.
28. Better known as Liu Pei (劉備) founder of the Kingdom of Shu (蜀) in the time of the Three Kingdoms. A.D. 221.-263. Liu Pei died A.D. 222.
29. Chu Ko Liang was his loyal advisor and minister. It was to his assistance that Liu Pei owed his gaining of the Kingdom of Shu, and had he continued to listen to his counsel he would not have suffered his crushing defeat at the hands of Wu (吳) which led to his downfall and death of grief.
30. Kao (皋) is (皋陶) Minister of Justice under Yao, also under Shun. K'uei (夔) was Minister of Music. Hsieh (契) was Minister of Education under Shun. and Chi (稷) was Minister of Agriculture.
31. i.e. Wu Ting (武丁) B.C. 1324-1265. Famous for two things, the way in which he obtained the services of an able minister, Fu Yueh, and the expedition he led against the Tartars. In his search for a successor to Kan P'an his prime minister he is said to have appealed to God, and to have had revealed

to him the features of the man who could take his place. He thereupon made a picture of the man of his dream and ordered a search to be made for him. A mason was at length found who answered to the description given, and was made prime minister. This was Fu Yueh (傳說) who proved to be the right man for the place, for under his guidance the country prospered within, and was respected without. (Li Ung Bing p.cit.)

32. See last note.

33. i.e. Huan Tou, (獼猴) Kung Kung (共工) Ku K'un (鯀) and San Miao, (三苗) all of the Emperor Shun's day, and all punished by him.

34. The Hsueh Shih (學士) "T'ung Chien". (通鑑)

35. (帝昶).

36. "T'ung Chien" (通鑑) evidently Ssu Ma Kuang's idea was that the capacity of the country for revenue was of a fixed amount, and that it was impossible for any increase to be made in that without detriment to the people's livelihood.

37. Sang Hung Yang, (桑宏羊) Minister of Finance under Han Wu Ti B.C. 140-86. Instituted the Equalisation Regulations (平準法) which were devised with a view to saving transport charges on grains for the State revenues, and also for levelling up prices by establishing government Bureaus for purchasing grain when cheap and plentiful at a price slightly higher than current rates and selling again when scarce and dear at prices lower than current rates. In this way profits which usually went to the Grain Combines were received by the Government. It is said by some authorities that the people were not taxed above the normal but the government had sufficient for financial needs. Another tradition is that represented by an augurer that Sang Hung Yang should be boiled alive, and then the rain would come. This was evidently spoken in a time of drought, when it was customary to examine into the conduct of government to find the cause for heaven's displeasure thus revealed. (From the Yu P'i T'ung Tai Chi Lan" (御批通鑑輯覽)

But see note) under chapter on Equitable Transport measure. P.P. xvii-xix.

38. B.C. 140-86.

39. (因循流俗).

40. There is divergence of views ^{between} of the various authorities as to the date on which Wang An Shih actually took up this appointment Chan Ta Ho says clearly that he took it up in the winter of 1067 (冬方就職). In Wang An Shih's letter of thanks for the appointment carrying his acceptance of the post, he uses the expression, (經涉歲時) which seems to imply that he had delayed for about a year before obeying the order to take up the post. This order was issued in the third intercalary month of that year. We need not take the expression in Wang An Shih's letter of thanks as equivalent to twelve months. It might be a general term for eight or nine months, which would bring the date to some time in the winter, as Chan Ta Ho suggests. However Ts'ai Shang Hsiang and Liang Ch'i Ch'ao regard his acceptance of the post as having taken place soon after the commission reached him.

This question also affects the time at which he took up his duties as Literary Councillor. The Histories date this in the 9th month of 1067. See Note 13 above. Liang and Ts'ai both accept this as correct. However in the "T'ung Chien" under that month the commentator states that he waited seven months before actually proceeding to the capital to take up the appointment, which would bring the date to the 4th month of 1068, when we read of Wang An Shih's being called to the Imperial presence by special privilege. Chan Ta Ho puts the appointment of Literary

NOTES ON CHAPTER XI.

1. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.114.
2. " " p.114. quoted from Sung Huo Chih. (食貨志)
3. Prose Works, essay entitled "Feng Su" (風俗) Vol.17.p.13.
4. These four must have been T'ai Tsu (太祖) 960-975.
T'ai Tsung (太宗) 976-997. Chen Tsung (真宗) 998-1022,
and Jen Tsung (仁宗) 1023-1063. The essay would probably
be written in Ying Tsung's reign, although it is possible that
it was composed in the later years of Jen Tsung.
5. i.e. The San Ssu (三司)
6. "T'ung Chien".
7. (泉府) Finance Bureau which controlled supplies, distribu-
tion, and prices, aiming at sufficiency of revenue for the
State without inflicting any undue hardship upon the people.
8. "Chien Ping" (兼并) (really "Plutocrats" Wealthy merchants and
officials who controlled finance and trade)
9. Liu Yen (劉晏) i.e. Liu Shih An (劉世安) of the T'ang Dynasty.
In the reign of T'ai Tsung (代宗) during the years 763-5 A.D.
was Grand Councillor, and later Minister of Transport, Taxation,
etc., He paid first attention to the livelihood of the people,
one of his favourite quips being that if the numbers of the
people were increased, the revenues would increase in proportion.
Evidently he was a skilled financier, the revenues from Salt
being increased ten-fold during his regime. The revenues
from Salt alone were sufficient to provide for all military
and transport services. He balanced up supplies throughout the
country, and provided a courier system with fixed sections, over
which they transmitted the prices of commodities from place to
place. He so managed affairs that the regulation of food prices
were all in his own hands. Prospects of good harvests or bad
were all known by him beforehand, and preparations to meet
emergencies of surplus or dearth duly completed. In the first
year of Te Tsung (德宗) i.e. 780 he was put to death by order of
the emperor. This was resented by the whole empire.
(From the T'ung Chien Kang Mu*) *通鑑綱目 But see fuller note in appendices
P.XXI,
10. "Chih San Ssu T'iao Li Ssu" (制置三司條例司)
11. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 111.
12. "T'ung Chien"
13. The rates of interest exacted under Wang An Shih's regulations
were usually 2% per mensem, i.e. 24% per annum. But the
rates demanded by the money lenders were more than that, rang-
ing between 30% to as much as 50%. 2% per mensem is considered
quite normal in China to-day.
14. Poetical Works. Vol. 6 p.6.
15. i.e. the "Great Bear". (北斗), regarded as the fixed centre of
the stellar system, round which all other constellations revolve
and so applied to the emperor.
16. This widow made large contributions to the public funds, amassed
enormous wealth from a monopoly in cinnabar. She was so powerful
that none dare offend her. Even the emperor thought it well to
keep in her good graces, hence the memorial, although it must also be said that she was of
good repute.
17. (章惇)
18. T'ung Chien.
19. i.e. An Shih's own son Fang (芳) ~~also~~ died in this way, so the Historian
relates as the result of temper following on his being rebuked
by his father. He ~~also~~ is said to have "grown a carbuncle on his
back". "T'ung Chien" under 1075. 7th month.

20. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao pp. 114 & 115.

21. (滕甫). Peng Lu

22. (鄭俠). Cheng Hsieh

23. See above Chap. 7 Prolegomena VII. p. 32.

24. This was the case of a woman who had attempted to kill her husband because of his illtreatment. She had confessed to the crime. The local official proposed that she should not be called upon to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, because of her confession. Wang An Shih supported this proposal, but was strenuously opposed by Ssu Ma Kuang. The case was held in abeyance for nearly a year, when Wang An Shih's point of view was accepted, and a new law framed that in such crimes as this if confession of guilt should be made, the penalty should be that of two grades lighter than for murder.

25. (唐介) Tang Chieh

26. T'ung Chien.

27. See Appendix No.

28. See Appendix No.

29. T'ung Chien.

30. Prose Works. Vol. 10. pp. 17 & 18.

31. T'ung Chien.

20.A. These eight men were Liu I (劉彝) Hsieh^{CA'ing} Ts'ai, (謝卿材) Hou Shu Hsien, (侯叔獻) Ch'eng Hao, (程顥) Lu Ping, (盧秉) Wang Ju I, (王汝翼) Tseng Hang, (曾伉) and Wang Kuang Lien, (王廣廉).

6. The big merchants had been getting rich out of the difficulties of the people in meeting the court demands, as they had been manipulating the purchases and sale of stocks themselves. This had given them considerable influence and control of the market and prices as well. Wang An Shih now proposed that this control should now be transferred, at least in part, to the Government.

7. "T'ung Chien" where the heading in large type reads, "Doing Good Shu Ya" (尚書之法) indicating that it must have been carried into effect. The later statement in the Imperial History (宋史) that it was not carried out, must be interpreted to mean that it was withdrawn after some short period of experiment but not before.

8. See "T'ung Chien" under 4th month of 1009.

9. A "string" is 1,000 copper or other metal coins. These coins were made with a string passed through a hole in the centre.

1,000 of these was the common unit of currency.

10. "Chun Shu P'ing Shu Ya" (均輸平準)

11. Dynastic Histories, Sung Shih, Chih Shu Chih. (資治通鑑)

12. ditto. ditto.

There seems some uncertainty as to whether both these memorials were by Shu Chieh (舒頌) or not. There is general agreement about the first section ending with the words "a good thing" or in the text. With regard to what follows there are some records, viz. the Dynastic Histories, and the "T'ung Chien"

Ch'ien Shu (前書) which say it was by Shu Chieh (舒頌).

The "T'ung Chien" says it was by Shu Chieh.

13. "T'ung Chien" under 3th month 1009.

14. ditto. ditto.

15. ditto. ditto.

16. See Chapter 12.

1. Prose Works Vol 17. pp. 22 & 23.
 2. "Five hundred li constituted the Imperial Domain. From the first hundred li, they brought, as revenue, the whole plant of the grain: from the second, they brought the ears: from the third they brought only the straw: but had to perform other services: from the fourth they gave the grain in the husk: and from the fifth the grain cleaned." From the Shu Ching, Part III. Pk 1. Pt. II. Ch. 14. 13. Legge's translation. This is supposed to relate to the times of the emperor Yü, i.e. in the 23rd century B.C.
 3. There were two great State Sacrifices each year, the "Chiao" (郊) or sacrifice to Heaven which took place at the time of the Winter solstice, and the sacrifice to Earth (社) "She" which took place at the Summer Solstice. Great expenditure was involved on these occasions not only on the necessary preparations, but also on special gifts to the officials.
 4. "Chin i che pien" (支移折變) Transfers of taxes collected under one head to another purpose, and other accommodations, which in the end resulted in the people having to pay double, as taxes once diverted could never be recovered, and ~~an~~ extra levies had to be imposed to meet the deficiency under the original head.
 5. These I make out to be Huai-Nan (淮南) Liang Che (兩浙) each regarded as one. Chiang-Nan-Tung (江南東) or S.E. Chiang. Chaing-Nan-Hsi (江南西) or S.W. Chiang, Ching-Hu-Pei (荆湖北) and Ching-Hu-Nan (荆湖南). These were the great grain producing areas.
 6. The big merchants had been getting rich out of the difficulties of the people in meeting the court demands, as they had been manipulating the purchase and sale of stocks themselves. This had given them considerable influence and control of the market and prices as well. Wang An Shih now proposed that this control should ~~be~~ be transferred, at least in part, to the Government.
 7. "T'ung Chien," where the heading in large type reads, "Hsing Chun Shu Fa" (行均輸法) indicating that it must have been carried into effect. The later statement in the Dynastic History (然均輸後迄不能成) that it was not carried out, must be interpreted to mean that it was withdrawn after some ~~little~~ period of experiment. But see below.
 8. See "T'ung Chien" under 4th month of 1069.
 9. A "string" is 1,000 copper or other metal coins. These coins were ~~strung up~~ ^{connected by} a string passed through a hole in the centre. 1,000 of these was the common unit of currency.
 10. "Chun Shu P'ing Chun Fa" (均輸平準)
 11. Dynastic Histories, Sung Shih, Shih Huo Chih. (食貨志)
 12. ditto. ditto.
- There seems some uncertainty as to whether both these memorials were by Su Che (蘇轍) or not. There is general agreement about the first section ending with the words "a good thing" as in the text. With regard to what follows there are some records, viz. the Dynastic Histories, and the "T'ung Chien Chi Lan K'ang-Hu" (通鑑輯覽) which say it was by Su Shih (蘇軾). The "T'ung Chien" says it was by Su Che.
13. "T'ung Chien" under 8th month 1069.
 14. ditto. ditto.
 15. ditto. ditto.
 16. See Chapter XI.

17. 'T'ung Chien' under 8th month 1069.
18. ditto. ditto.
19. Dynastic Histories. where we have the words (然均輸後迄不能成)
20. i.e. the 'Shih I Fa' (市易法) see later chapter.
21. The Grand Canal now joins Hangchow (杭州) with Tientsin. (天津)
 The work was commenced in the time of Fu Ch'ai (夫差) King of Wu (吳) B.C. 494-472) who carried it from Hang Chow into Chiang Su. It was ~~extended~~ during the times of the Sui (隋) T'ang (唐) and Northern Sung (宋) Dynasties. The most memorable contribution was made by Sui Yang Ti (隋煬帝) A.D. 605-617, who during his reign completed 5,000 miles of canals. The Grand Canal was extended to Lo Yang (洛陽) which was his capital, or at least connected with the Yellow River so that direct transport was possible between the Yang Tzu River (揚子江) and Lo Yang. In the Mongol Dynasty the capital was located at Peking, and so the Canal was connected with the Pei River (北河) to T'ung Chow (通州) a few miles out of Peking. In the Northern Sung Dynasty the capital was K'ai Feng Fu which is situated on the Yellow River, and so would be in direct connection via the Grand Canal with the great grain-producing areas. (See Boulger, 'A Short History of China' p. 26.)
22. See Chapter XI. ~~appendices 4-6.~~
23. Confucian Analects Book VII. Ch. I. 'Shu erh pu tso' (述而不作) translated by Legge 'A transmitter and not a maker.'
24. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.p. 299-300. asserts that Hsieh Hsiang was an honest and very able official. He had been recommended by Wang An Shih as long ago as 1060 for a post in connection with the procuration and breeding of horses for the Government services, and now he recommended him for the onerous post of Transport Officer for the chief grain producing area of the empire. Later on he was again recommended as Minister of Finance and in this, as in his other appointments accomplished many reforms. He was the equivalent of Liu Yen, according to Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, and is given great praise by the Sung Historians. But what occasions him great surprise is the fact that Wang An Shih's patronage and employment of such a worthy and capable official is not mentioned in these histories.

Notes on Agricultural Loans Measure etc.,

1. See Vol. LIX Journal of North China Branch of R.A.S. Article by Hu Shih on Wang Mang. (also appendices p.p. XIX-XXI.)
2. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.119.
3. Referring probably to the "Ch'uan Fu Chih Kuan" (泉府之官)
See Chap. p.
4. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.118.
- 4a. See Article on Wang Mang as above, p.228. also appendices p.p. XIX. XXI.
5. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ping 2nd year 9th month.
6. do. do. do.
7. Evidently a loan system had been connected with the operation of the Granary ~~system~~, though possibly only in the form of grain. This appears from Wang An Shih's letter to Tseng Kung Li (below).
8. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ping, 2nd year, 9th month.
9. do. do. do.
10. do. do. do.
11. do. do. do.
12. do. do. do.
13. do. do. 10th month.
14. do. do. do.
15. do. do. 11th "
16. do. do. 11th "
17. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol.16.p.6. questions whether this document is entirely from the pen of Sau Ma Kuang, suggesting that possibly additions by otherhands have been incorporated.
18. Works, Vol. 13.p.3.
19. Shu Ching, Legge's edition. Part IV. Book VII. Pt 1.1.
20. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ping, 2nd year, 11th month. etc.,
21. do. do. do.
22. This appears ^{to be} from a memorial submitted by Han Ch'i. See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 16.p.1. ^{according to} this the fifth class were not allowed to take more than a "string" and a half, the fourth class three "strings" the third class six "strings" the second class ten "strings" and the first class fifteen "strings."
23. Later to cause Wang An Shih considerable annoyance as governor of K'ai Feng Fu.
24. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ping, 2nd year. 11th month.
25. The actual expression used is "like teaching a jade-cutter to cut jade". (如教玉人琢玉)
26. There is a note in the Histories about a large increase in the number of sinecures which occurred about this time, and suggests that Wang An Shih was responsible for this, as so many of the Court officials had been compelled to leave the Court through opposition to his policy, ^{and that it was found necessary to make provision for them in this way.} this however is controverted by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, (pp.204-5), who asserts notably that the system of pensioning off prominent officials in this way had obtained long before Wang An Shih took up office at the capital, but that he ^{was} actually ^{prepared to consider the} ~~abolition~~ retention of these sinecures as concurrent appointments, on the ground ~~that~~ of their costliness. He traces the source of the slander to the "Ch'ih Pei Ou T'ien" (池北偶談) of Wang Yu Yang. (王漁洋) which in turn quotes the Shih Shih Cheng Kang (世史正綱) of Ch'iu Wen Chuang. (邱文莊) as authority.
27. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ping 3rd year, 1st month.
28. The promoters never intended to loan out money without interest. ^{For that} This was an essential part of the scheme to ensure its continuity and success.
30. i.e. the Chow Kuan (周官) on which Wang An Shih professed to base most of his reform measures. He wrote a New Interpretation of this Classic, styled the "Chow Kuan Hsin I" (周官新義). For details see the Literary Section of this work.

31. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 3rd year, 2nd month.
32. Works, Vol.13.p.9.
- 32a. This is additional proof that under the "Granary Laws" loans were possible.
33. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 3rd year, 3rd month.
34. do. do. 3rd " 4th "
35. do. do. 3rd " 4th "
36. do. do. 3rd " 4th "
- 36 a. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang controverts the accusation against Li Ting's character, affirming that Li Ting was truly a good man, loyal to his parents, in support of which no better evidence can be adduced than that he resigned his office to attend to the needs of his father. He concludes that Li Ting ~~certainly~~ was unaware that ~~that~~ he had committed any unfilial act in not observing the mourning period for his (supposed) mother. For he did not know she was his mother! See Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol. 1 of the Tsa Lu, p. 10.
37. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 3rd year, 4th month.
38. do. do. 3rd " 5th "
39. do. do. 3rd " 5th "
40. do. do. 3rd " 7th "
41. do. do. 3rd " 7th "
42. do. do. 3rd " 8th "
43. Evidently the Imperial Council Chamber where memorials were presented.
44. The Financial Reorganization Bureau had been incorporated with the Board of Land Revenue. (司農寺). It was therefore a most important position strategically for the Reform party.
45. See Note 23. above.
46. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning 3rd year. 9th month.
47. do. do. do. do.
48. do. do. do. do. This was the final break between Sau Ha Kuang and Wang An Shih in matters of policy.
49. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 3rd year, 10th month.
50. do. do. do. do.
51. do. do. do. do.

1. "T'ung Chien".
2. i.e. The "Liao" 遼 (辽) or "Iron" Tartars, the "Chin" 金 (金) or "Golden" Tartars, and the Hsi Hsia (西夏) or Tanguts to the north-west. The two former are generally spoken of as the Ch'i Tans (契丹) sometimes spelt Khitans.
3. Sixteen districts had been ceded to the Ch'itans by Shih Ching T'ang (石敬瑭) of the Posterior Chin Dynasty, (後晉紀) 936-943 A.D. Two additional districts viz., Cho (涿) and I (易) were lost to them in 983-9 by T'ai Tsung. The Hsi Hsia rose to considerable power during the reign of Jen Tsung (仁宗) 1023-63, occupied large stretches of territory in the North and north west of modern Shensi, and exacted considerable tribute from the Sung by the peace of 1043. "Outlines of Chinese History" pp170.180.
4. At the opening of Shen Tsung's reign 1068 the Standing Army numbered 1,162,000 men.
5. Boulger, "A Short History of China". pp.27.28.
6. The land under the Chow Dynasty was divided up into plots of 900 acres, subdivided into nine smaller plots of 100 acres each. Each of these smaller plots was leased to one family on condition that they shared the work of cultivating one of the nine in the interest of the government, the proceeds reckoning as their contribution to taxes. This division of the territory was known as "Ching" (井). Four "Ching" formed a larger division known as "I" (邑), which was held by thirty two families. Four "I" formed a still larger territorial division known as "Ch'iu" (丘) leased to 123 families. It was on this that the "Ch'iu Chia Fa" was based. The acre represented 6,000 sq. feet, the foot being roughly equivalent to the linear "foot" of to-day.
7. "Tz'u Yuan".
8. Prose Works, Vol 10.p.2.
9. Synopsised from the Dynastic Histories, "Sung Ping Chih" or Military Organisation of the Sung Dynasty, Vol.137. Section 140. Sub-section 1.
10. "T'ung Chien" under 12th month 1070.
11. The system of taxation and conscripted labour extant during the T'ang Dynasty 618-905 A.D. The Government granted to one family a piece of land one "ch'ing" (100 Chinese acres, equal to 15.13 English acres) in extent. From this 10 bushels of grain were to be contributed to the Government annually. This was termed "Tsu" (租). The holder was also required to contribute two rolls of silk, and 3 ozs of fibrous silk. If cloth was offered in lieu of silk, then the length was to be increased by one-fifth. Three lbs of hemp was also demanded. If money was offered in lieu of these goods 14 ozs of silver was demanded. This was termed "T'iao" (調). Apart from these contributions of money or goods, twenty days labour was to be given to the Government annually. In years which contained an inter-calary month twenty-two days labour were exacted. Goods could be offered in lieu of labour, 3 ft of silk being regarded as the equivalent of one day's labour. On the other hand if an extra twenty-five days' labour was offered, all the ~~tax~~ items under the "T'iao" heading were cancelled, and if additional labour of thirty days was volunteered, all other taxes were remitted. This labour was termed "Yung" (庸) (Taken from the "Tz'u Yuan").

12. Most of the material in this section is taken from the Dynastic Histories, Vol 192. Section 145. Military Sub-section VI. District Corps iii. (**宋史兵志**) also from Vol 191, Section 144, Military subsection V, District Corps ii.
13. In the period 1041-1048 there were 180,031 Volunteers (**I Yung**) enrolled in the Hopei circuit, and 77,079 in Hotung. In Shensi for the period 1064-3 the numbers were 156,873. While it was Wang An Shih's ultimate purpose to bring the Volunteers under the Militia Act it was very difficult to carry into effect. The two schemes were operating together for some time. It was not until 1082 that they were finally amalgamated. In the period 1075-6 the total figures of the Volunteers in the five Circuits of Hopei, Hotung, Hopeihsi, Yung Hsing, and Ch'in Feng amounted to 247,537. (Dynastic History Vol.191. Section 144. V.ii.)
14. Dynastic Histories. Vol. Section. 14a. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao 155-6
15. In 780 A.D. T'ien Yueh (**田悅**) was in charge of Liao Ch'eng Hsien in Shantung. He had 70,000 armed men under his command, and he was generally regarded as a loyal officer. But Hung Ching Lung (**洪經綸**) Chief Administrator of the Hopei circuit, ordered him to disband 40,000 of these. T'ien Yueh made a show of disbandment by ordering his men to return to their farms. However after a short interval he brought the men back to their old military stations. The following year these troops rebelled. *"Tz'u Yuan": T'ien Yueh arrogated the title of King (王) to himself (王元)*
16. Quoted Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 164.
17. During the years 1068-9 considerable reductions had already been effected. In 1068 a mandate was issued that troops in the sub-prefectural districts which were not up to regulation standard should be disbanded. These troops were of the 2nd grade. (**廂軍**). The same order decreed that all troopers of the 1st grade army who failed to meet the regulation requirements should be transferred to the 2nd grade forces. All who failed to come up to the standards of the 2nd grade forces should return to civil life. A later mandate permitted (sic) all over fifty years of age to return to civil life. (According to the old regulations 61 was the retiring age for soldiers). The same order permitted the enlistment of able-bodied and efficient 2nd grade men under 45 years of age on full pay. This applied to those who hitherto had been in receipt of half-pay only. In 1069 it was decided that some military stations in Shensi should be abandoned. Cavalry and Infantry units were reduced from 327 to 270. The total reduction throughout the country was from 545 to 355 units. It is impossible to say how much of this policy of reduction was due to Wang An Shih, but we know it was one of the major points of his policy.
18. Quoted Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 166.
19. The material in this Section is taken from the Dynastic Histories. Vol. 192 Section. 145 VI iii.
20. Culled from the Dynastic Histories. Vol. 192 Section. 145. VI. iii
21. " " " " Vol. 192 Section. 145 VI. iii.
22. Dynastic Histories. Vol. 192 Section. 145. VI. iii
23. ditto. Vol. 192 Section. 145 VI. iii.
24. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. pp. 135-6.
25. Taken from the Dynastic Histories. Vol. 192 Section. 145. VI. iii
26. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 134.
27. T'ung Chien.

28. This would compare favourably with Wang An Shih's advocacy of this demand from 123 families, but the latter seems to have been the rule in later Chow times. Prior to that there are indications that these demands for war service were made of a still larger district than the "Ch'iu" (丘) namely from the "tien" which again was four times the size of the "ch'iu". That would be and comprised 512 families. (向)

29. Quoted Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.183.

1. (春秋) or Labour Conscription Law.
2. The expression "strings" is used to denote a unit of currency. The coins, which had a hole in the middle, were strung together in units of a thousand. Lower grades being a thousand of these coins would be worth about one million and six hundred British money. But in the time of the Chou dynasty these coins were worth much more than that. The value of a district magistrate's wages then ten of these "strings" was more than a hundred thousand.
3. The classical reference to the string coin.
4. (春秋) or Labour Conscription Law.
5. "The Chou Dynasty" as quoted in Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.181, quoted from "The Chou Dynasty" (春秋) vol.12.
6. "The Chou Dynasty" (春秋) quoted from the same. (向)
7. "The Chou Dynasty" (春秋).
8. As an instance of the Chou Dynasty, the Ming Dynasty also quoted the Chou Dynasty of Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, where the city residents, whose possessions were valued at less than 100 "strings", and country residents whose possessions were valued at less than 100 "strings" were exempted from the tax laws. However, this was changed, and all became liable. At least the history notes that those whose possessions were valued at less than 100 "strings" should also pay.
9. The classes so exempted were city residents, families with no male or a single male representative, priests and monks, and the like.
10. However, the country residents only. The top three classes of which only were exempted.
11. That is, under the Military Law. (春秋)
12. The Military Act.
13. "The Chou Dynasty".
14. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.183.

1. "T'ung Chien". (通鑑)
2. Liang Ch' Ch'ao p.137.
3. Legge's edition of the Chinese Classics. Works of Mencius.
Book 1. Pt.1. Cp.V. par.1.
4. Dynastic Histories. Sung Dynasty. "Shih Huo Chih" Sec.130. (食貨志)
Book V. Cp 1. from which most of the historical material in this chapter is taken.
5. (衙前)
6. (耆長)
7. "Shih Huo Chih", as above.
8. (差役法) or Labour Conscription Laws.
9. The expression "strings" is used to denote a unit of currency. The coins, which had a hole in the middle, were strung together in units of a thousand. In more modern times a thousand of these coins would be worth about one shilling and eight pence of British money. But in the times of the Sung dynasty these coins were worth much more than that. The salary of a district magistrate was less than ten of these "strings". *These coins are rapidly dying out.*
10. The classical definition of the ruling caste.
11. (差役法) or Labour Conscription laws.
12. "Shih Huo Chih" as above. Also Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p 141, quoted from "Wen Hsien T'ung K'ao" (文獻通考 vol.12.
13. "Shu Jen Tsai Kuan" (庶人在官) quoted from Chow Li. (周禮)
14. "T'ung Chien." (通鑑)
15. As an instance of this liberty, one might quote the Circuit of Liang Che (兩浙) where the city residents, whose possessions were valued at less than 200 "strings", and country residents whose possessions were valued at less than fifty "strings" were exempted from the tax. Later, however, this was changed, and all became liable. At least the history notes that those whose possessions were valued at less than fifty "strings" should also pay.
16. The classes so exempted were city residents, families with no male or a single male representative, priests and monks, and officials.
17. Referring to country residents only, the top three classes of which only were liable.
18. That is, under the Militia Act. (保甲法)
19. The Militia Act.
20. "T'ung Chien".
21. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.146.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XVI

1. See Chap. XII.
2. Dynastic Histories, "Sung Shih Hsu Chih" Vol. 139. Cp. 3. Second half, p. 3. (宋史食貨志)
3. Do do. do. do. and compare with
4. do. do. do. do.
5. do. do. do. do. Chapter XIV.
6. do. do. do. do. (歐陽修) do. p. 4. (續)
7. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 135.
8. T'ung Chien." (通鑑)
9. T'ung Chien." (通鑑)

S.
NOTES ON CHAPTER XVII.

1. See under Chapter XIV. Note 17.
2. Dynastic Histories. "Sung Vols 190-192". where the various types of People's Corps are outlined in detail.
3. "T'ung Chien" under date of 1070 -12th month, and compare with Dynastic History, "Sung, Vol 137. Section 140. I.
4. See Memorial of Su Shih (蘇軾) translated in Chapter XLV.
5. See Memorials of Ou Yang Hsiu, (歐陽修) Fan Chen, (范鎮) and Su Shih, (蘇軾) translated in Chapter XIV.
6. "T'ung Chien".
7. "T'ung Chien" under 12th month 1070, also Dynastic History, Vol 137 Section 140. I.
8. "T'ung Chien". as above.
9. Dynastic History, Vol. 137. Section 140. I.
10. "T'ung Chien" as above.
11. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p 170.
12. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.139.
13. "T'ung Chien".
14. Probably by the people however, as animals which died had to be replaced ~~either in whole or in part~~ by the people.
15. Probably the five circuits to the north and north-west, mainly in Shensi ~~and~~ Shansi ~~and~~ Hopei.
16. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.190.
17. T'ung Chien.
18. Quoted Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.190-1. Cf Dyn.Hist. Sung Vol.197. Sec.150. I.
19. See below, reference to materials collected for the making of arms.
20. Dynastic History, Vol. 197. Section 150. I.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XVIII.

1. See Chapters 10. & 11 etc.
2. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 4th year, 3rd month.
3. do. do. 4th " 3rd "
4. do. do. 4th " 4th "
5. do. do. 4th " 4th "
6. do. do. 4th " 5th "
7. do. do. 4th " 5th "
8. do. do. 4th " 6th "
9. do. do. 4th " 6th "
10. do. do. 4th " 7th "
11. do. do. 4th " 7th "
12. do. do. 4th " 8th "
13. See Chapter. 16 also 21.
14. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 4th year, 8th month.
15. do. do. 4th " 10th "
16. do. do. 5th " 1st "
17. do. do. 5th " 2nd "
18. do. do. 5th " 3rd "
19. do. do. 5th " 3rd "
20. See Chapter
21. See Chapter
22. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 5th year, 5th month
23. Prose Works, Vol. 10. p. 2.
24. "Chow Kuan Hsin I" (周官新義) Vol. 6. p. 3.
27. Prose Works, Vol. 10. p. 15.
28. do. Vol. 10. pp. 16 & 17.
29. do. Vol. 10. p. 17.

NOTES ON CHAPTER X/X.

1. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 5th year, 7th month (intercalary)
2. do. do. 5th " 8th "
3. do. do. 5th " 8th "
4. do. do. 5th " 8th "
5. See Chapter.
6. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 5th " 9th "
7. do. do. 5th " 10th "
8. do. do. 5th " 11th "
9. do. do. 5th " 12th "
10. do. do. 6th " 2nd "
11. do. do. 6th " 2nd "
12. do. do. 6th " 3rd "
13. do. do. 6th " 4th "
14. do. do. 6th " 4th "
15. do. do. 6th " 4th "
16. do. do. 6th " 5th "
17. do. do. 6th " 6th "
18. do. do. 6th " 6th "
19. do. do. 6th " 9th "
20. do. do. 6th " 9th "
21. do. do. 6th " 10th " also Chapter
22. do. do. 7th " 1st "
23. do. do. 7th " 3rd "
24. do. do. 7th " 3rd " possibly 4th.
25. do. do. 7th " 4th "
26. But as a matter of fact certain changes were introduced, e.g. the ^{during Liu Hing-ch'ing's} promulgation of the "Shou Shih Fa" (手實法) or ^{regional} Personal Self-
^{Amended} Testimony Measure, also the banishment of Cheng Hsieh must
~~27. xx Prose Works, Vol. 10, pp. 15, 16 & 17. Wang An-shih's policy.~~ be regard-
 ed as a deviation from Wang An Shih's policy. *But see next chapter.*
27. Prose Works, Vol 10.p.15.
28. do. Vol.10.pp.16 & 17.
29. do. Vol.10.p.17.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XVIII. XX.

1. "T'ung Chien" (通鑑) from which most of the historical material in this section on Land Reclamation is taken.
2. "T'ung Chien"
3. do.
4. do.
5. "浚川耙" Chun Ch'uan Pa.
6. "T'ung Chien"
7. "T'ung Chien."
8. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 152.
9. do. p.152.
10. Fang T'ien Chun Shui. (方田均稅)
11. "T'ung Chien".
12. Obviously to save the trouble of making fresh surveys and remeasurement of the plots.
13. Shih Huo Chih, ~~Vol. 128. Cp. 3. p. 10.~~
14. ~~Shih Huo Chih, Vol. 133. Cp. 2. from which most of the material in this section on the coinage is taken. See Appendix No. 3.~~
15. ~~"T'ung Chien."~~
16. ~~"Che erh chien" (折二錢)~~
17. ~~T'ung Chien.~~
18. ~~Shih Huo Chih, Vol. 133. Cp. 2. p. 1.~~
19. Pen Chuan. (本傳)
20. Prose Works, Vol. 17. p. 22.
21. Prose Works. Vol. 17. p. 21.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XXI.

1. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 3rd year 10th month.
2. do. do. 4th " 3th "
3. do. do. 4th " 3th "
4. do. do. 5th " 3th "
5. Prose Works, Vol.13.p.9. (與王子醇書)
6. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 5th year, 10th month.
7. Prose Works, Vol. 13.pp.9 & 10. ()
8. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 6th year 2nd month.
9. Prose Works, Vol.13.pp.10 & 11.
10. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 6th year, 9th month.
11. Prose Works, Vol.15.p.1. (賜玉帶謝表)
12. Prose Works, Vol.13.p.10. letter No 4.
13. See Chapter 35. p 310.
14. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.213.
15. "T'ung Chien" Yuan Yu (元祐) 1st year, 4th month.
16. do. do. 3th " 9th " (舉邊圉之地以賜西夏)
17. do. Shao Sheng (紹聖) 4th year, 8th month, & 5th month
18. do. Yuan Fu (元符) 2nd year 7th month.
19. do. do. 2nd " 3th "
20. do. Ts'ung Ning (崇寧) 4th year, 4th month.
21. do. Cheng Ho (政和) 5th year 3th month.
22. do. Hsuan Ho, (宣和) 6th year 1st month.
23. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao pp.214.215.
24. The modern An Hua Hsien (安化縣) in Ch'ang Sha prefecture.
25. The modern Hsin Hua Hsien (新化縣) in Pao Ch'ing prefecture.
26. The modern Yuan Chow Fu. (沅州府)
27. the modern Ching Chow. (靖州)
28. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.217. synopsised.
29. do. pp.219-221. synopsised, in translation.
30. do. pp.221-226. do. do.
31. Prose Works, Vol.12.p.1. (勅榜交趾)
32. "T'ung Chien" Yuan Feng (元豐) 1st year Autumn.

NOTES ON CHAPTER xxii.

1. Holcombe, "The Chinese Revolution"
2. Dynastic Histories, Sung Dynasty Book 157, "Hsuan Chü Chih" (選舉志) Vol 110, Section 111.
3. "T'ung Chien" do.
4. "T'ung Chien" Ch'ing Li (懷曆) 4th year, 3rd month.
5. See page "Myriad Character Memorial". (萬言書)
6. "Hsuan Chu Chih" Vol 110. Sect.111. (選舉志)
7. do. do.
8. "Myriad Character Memorial" (萬言書) as note 5.
9. There was another attempt made in Jen Tsung's day to extend educational facilities, by setting up the four gate colleges, "Ssu Men Hsueh" (四門學). These colleges seem at one time to have been located in the provinces, but were now moved into the capital for convenience. Into these colleges sons of the lower grades of officials were admitted, and also sons of non-official families. This attempt was however abandoned after a short period.
10. "Hsuan Chü Chih" Vol. 110. Sect.111.
11. "T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning (熙寧) 4th year, 12th month.
12. do. do. do.
- 12.a. do. and Hsuan Chu Chih, Vol 110. Sect.111.
13. Quoted Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.199.
14. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 195.
15. i.e. the Myriad Character Memorial. (萬言書)
16. Prose Works, Vol.17.p.16. (取材) "Ch'u Ts'ai".
17. Essay ends here.
18. Prose Works, Vol.17.p.23.
19. Prose Works, Vol.16.p.7.
20. Prose Works. Vol.17.p.24.
21. Prose Works. Vol.16.p.24. (abbreviated.) "Ts'ai Lun". (材論)
22. Works Vol.10.P.8. (乞改科條制劄子)
23. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.201.
24. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning (熙寧) 4th year 2nd month.
25. do. do. do.
26. do. do. do. "Kung I" (廣義)
27. (千古叛經之罪人)
28. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning, 6th year, 3rd month.
29. Do. Do. 8th year 6th month.
30. do. do. do. do.
31. (先儒傳註一切廢而不用)
32. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.195.
33. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 197.
34. do. do. p.197.
35. do. do. p.197.
36. Prose Works. Vol.17.p.24.
37. do. do. Vol 17. p.25.
38. do. do. Vol 17.p.24.
39. do. do. Vol 17.p.25.
40. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 5th year, 5th month.

Notes on Gov. of Chiang Ning Fu. 1074-5. Chapter. XXIII.

1. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 7th year, 4th month.
2. Works Vol. 15.p.3.
3. Works Vol. 23. pp. 4 & 5. The expression used in this letter is (七年八月十七日不起) which I interpret as meaning that Wang An Kuo died on that date. Otherwise another date for death would surely have been indicated.
4. Works Vol.15.p.22.
5. T'ung Chien Hsi Ning, 7th year, 4th month.
6. do. do. 7th " 4th "
7. See Chapter p.
8. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 7th year, 5th month. (*The 'chih K'o' was a special examination conducted by the emperor.*)
9. do. do. 7th year 5th "
10. do. do. 7th " 7th "
11. do. do. 7th " 9th "
12. do. do. 7th " 10th "
13. do. do. 7th " 12th "
14. do. do. 8th " 1st "
15. Works, Vol.23. pp 4 & 5.
16. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 8th year 2nd month.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XXIV.

1. "T'ung Chien" 3th year, 2nd month, of "Hsi Ning" (熙寧)
"Kuang I" commentary. (廣義) (欺天罔人而絕無忌憚之心)
2. "T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning (熙寧) 3th year, 2nd month.
(安石承命倍道而進七日至汴京)
3. Prose Works, Vol 15, pp 9 & 10.
4. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning, 3th year, 2nd month. possibly 3rd month.
5. do. do. 3th " 7th "
(遂為異日興兵之端)
6. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning, 3th year, 4th month. (號為鑑相)
7. do. do. 3th " 6th "
8. do. do. 3th " 6th "
9. do. do. 3th " 8th "
10. do. do. 3th " 10th "
11. do. do. 3th " 10th "
12. do. do. 3th " 12th "
13. do. do. 3th " 12th "
14. do. do. 9th " 2nd "
15. Two separate states to the south of Annam, and independent of it, but acknowledging suzerainty of the Sung.
16. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning, 9th year, 7th month.
17. Prose Works, Vol 10.p.13.
18. Prose Works, Vol 13.p.11.
19. Prose Works, Vol 13.pp 11 & 12.
20. Prose Works, Vol. ~~10~~ p. 120 (推誠保德崇仁翊戴功臣) also Vol 15. p.10.
21. Dynastic History, "Pen Chuan" (本傳) See
22. Pen Chuan (本傳) reads (罷) "T'ung Chien" reads (免)
23. Works, Vol. 3.p.13.
24. Works, Vol. 10.p.4. The extracts translated are from Liang Ch'uan, p.103.
25. Works Vol. 10.p.3. The extracts translated are from Liang Ch'uan, p.104.
26. Dynastic History of Sung, Vol. 10.p.4. "Pen Chuan" (本傳).

Notes on Retirement and Maintenance of the Measures. *Chapter. XXV.*

1. ~~Rxaxx~~ Works, Vol.10.pp 19 & 20.
2. Works, Vol.10.p.21.
3. Works, Vol.15.p.23.
4. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao.p.236.
5. Poetical Works, Vol.4.p.1.
6. Works, Vol.13.p.12.
7. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.320.
8. do. p.320.
9. Pen Chuan.
10. Poetical Works, Vol.3.p.4.
11. i.e. An honour equivalent to holding the office of "San Kung"
(三公), the three highest honorary officials of the empire.
"Tz'u Yuan." (辭源)
12. Chan Ta Ho, Biographical Table.
13. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.233.
14. Chan Ta Ho. Biographical Table.
15. Works Vol.10.p.16.
16. Works, Vol.15.p.21.
17. Works, Vol.10.p.15.
18. Works, Vol.15.p.27.
19. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 9th year, 10th month.
20. do. do. 9th " 10th "
21. do. do. 9th " 10th "
22. do.
23. do.
24. Works, Vol.10.p.15.
25. Works, Vol.15.p.23.
26. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.313.
27. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.320.
28. Works, Vol.9.p.11.
29. Works, Vol.10.p.4. The extracts translated are from Liang Ch'i
Ch'ao, p.103.
30. Works Vol.10.p.5. The extracts translated are from Liang Ch'i
Ch'ao, p.104.
31. Dynastic History of Sung, Vol.16.p.6. "Pen Chi" (本紀).

Notes on Repeal of New Measures. Chapter XXVI.

1. T'ung Chien, Yuan Feng, 8th year, 3rd month.
2. do. do. do. 4th "
3. do. do. do. 4th "
4. do. do. do. 5th "
5. do. do. do. 5th "
6. do. do. do. 5th "
7. do. do. do. 5th "
8. do. do. do. 5th "
9. do. do. do. 7th "
10. do. do. do. 7th "
11. do. do. do. 11th "
12. do. Yuan Yu, 1st year 2nd " Intercalary.
13. do. do. do. 2nd " "
14. do. do. do. 2nd " "
15. do. do. do. 2nd " "
16. do. do. do. 3rd " X
17. do. do. do. 3rd "
18. do. do. do. 4th "
19. do. do. do. 3rd "
20. do. do. do. 4th "
21. do. do. do. 4th "
22. Works Vol.15.p.23.
23. Chan Ta Ho, Biographical Table.
24. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.233.
25. do. pp.233-9.
26. T'ung Chien. Yuan Yu, 1st year, 4th month.

Notes on History of Reform Policy, 1036-1093. Chapter XXVII.

| | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------|------------|
| 1. | T'ung Chien, Yuan Yu, | 1st year. | 9th month. |
| 2. | do. | do. 1st | " 7th |
| 3. | do. | do. 2nd | " 1st |
| 4. | do. | do. 2nd | " 3th |
| 5. | do. | do. 2nd | " 3th |
| 6. | do. | do. 4th | " 4th |
| 7. | do. | do. 4th | " 6th |
| 8. | do. | do. 5th | " 3th |
| 9. | do. | do. 7th | " 6th |
| 10. | do. | do. 8th | " 9th |

Notes on Chapter xxviii.

1. 'T'ung Chien, Yuan Yu (元祐) 3th year 9th month.
 2. do. do. 3th " 10th "
 3. ()
 4. 'T'ung Chien' Yuan Yu (元祐) 3th " 10th "
 5. do. do. 3th " 12th "
 6. do. Shao Sheng (紹聖) 1st year 2nd month.
 7. The reference of course is to the policy of Wang An Shih.
 8. 'T'ung Chien' Shao Sheng (紹聖) 1st year, 2nd month. Chu Hsi narrates an incident as follows:- "Che Tsung would persist in using an old table, which was so unsightly that the Dowager Hsuan Jen ordered him to change it for a new one. Che Tsung replied "This was my father's table". When the Dowager was greatly disturbed, as it indicated the emperor's desire to follow in his father's footsteps." From Complete Works of Chu Hsi. Vol. 62.p.4.
 9. 'T'ung Chien' Shao Sheng (紹聖) 1st year 2nd month. Text reads "appointed as 'Ch'eng Chih' (承旨) which probably meant Secretary to the Council.
 10. 'T'ung Chien, Shao Sheng (紹聖) 1st year 4th month. His appointment was as "Yu Cheng Yen" (右正言)
 11. 'T'ung Chien' & Shao Sheng (紹聖) 1st year 4th month.
 12. do. do. 1st " 4th "
 13. Appointment was to "Hu Pu Shang Shu" (戶部尚書)
 14. Appointed as Chung Shu She Jen" (中書舍人)
 15. 'T'ung Chien' Shao Sheng, 1st year 4th month.
 16. do. do. 1st " 4th "
 17. do. do. 1st " 4th " intercalary.
 18. do. do. 1st " 6th "
 19. do. do. 1st " 7th "
 20. do. do. 1st " 3th " *evidently he had received no Court appointment prior to this although it was the Emperors intention to do so.*
 21. do. do. 1st " 12th "
 22. do. do. 2nd " 2nd "
 23. do. do. 2nd " 10th "
 24. do. do. 2nd " 10th "
 25. do. do. 2nd " 11th " *There is no note of dei ta tang's banishment prior to this,*
 26. do. do. 2nd " 11th "
 27. do. do. 3rd " 7th "
 28. do. do. 4th " 1st "
 29. do. do. 4th " 2nd "
 30. do. do. 4th " 2nd "
 31. do. do. 4th " 3rd "
 32. do. do. 4th " 5th "
 33. do. do. 4th " 11th "
 34. do. do. 4th " 11th "
 35. do. Yuan Yu (元符) 1st " 1st "
 36. do. do. 1st " 3rd "
 37. do. do. 1st " 3rd "
 38. do. do. 1st " 3rd "
 39. do. do. 1st " 4th "
 40. do. do. 1st " 7th "
 41. do. do. 2nd " 9th " intercalary.
- The Inspectorate was styled "K'an Hsiang Su Li Chu" (看詳訴理局) which was set up with the idea of overturning the acts of grace promulgated during the time of Yuan Yu in the interests of the anti-Wang An Shih faction.
42. 'T'ung Chien' Yuan Yu (元符) 3rd year, 1st month.

NOTES ON CHAPTER XXIX.

1. "T'ung Chien" Yuan Fu (元符) 3rd year 1st month.
2. do. do. 3rd " 5th "
3. do. do. 3rd " 6th "
4. do. do. 3rd " 7th and 10th months
5. do. do. 3rd " 10th month.
6. do. do. 3rd " 5th "
7. do. do. 3rd " 10th "
8. do. do. 3rd " 10th "
9. do. do. 3rd 11th ?

The idea was to designate by the reign title an attitude of neutrality in the matter of government policy, the policy of Yuan Yu (元祐) and Shao Sheng (紹聖) periods both being regarded as extreme, one way or the other. This however lasted for barely twelve months. See next note.

10. The reign title was now changed again definitely in favour of Wang An Shih's policy, the characters "Ts ung Ning" meaning reverence for the policy of Hsi Ning's days, i.e. the policy of Wang An Shih.

11. "T'ung Chien" Ts'ung Ning, (崇寧) 1st year 5th month.
12. do. do. 1st " 5th "
13. do. do. 1st " 7th "
14. Called "Shao Sheng I Fa" (紹聖役法) See "T'ung Chien" Ts'ung Ning, 1st year 3th month.

15. T'ung Chien, Ts'ung Ning, (崇寧) 1st year 9th month.
16. do. do. 2nd " 2nd "
17. do. do. 2nd " 4th "
18. do. do. 2nd " 9th "
19. do. do. 2nd " 9th "
20. do. do. 3rd " 4th "
21. do. do. 3rd " 6th Kuang I com.
22. do. do. 3rd " 6th "
23. do. do. 3rd " 7th "
24. do. do. 4th " 1st "
25. do. do. 4th " 5th "
26. do. do. 5th " 1st "
27. do. do. 5th " 1st "
28. do. Ta Kuan (大觀) 1st " 1st , probably

because of an eclipse which had been prophesied but did not occur on the 1st of the 12th month of the preceding year.

29. In the 11th month of 1109 he had been called upon to resign his Government appointment but allowed to live in the capital. In the 5th month of 1110 he was sent to take up his residence in Hang Chow.

30. "T'ung Chien" Ta Kuan (大觀) 4th year, 6th month.
31. do. Cheng Ho (政和) 1st year, 8th month.
32. do. Ta Kuan, (大觀) 4th year, 7th "
33. do. Cheng Ho (政和) 2nd " 2nd and 5th months.
34. do. do. 3rd " 1st month.
35. do. Hsuan Ho (宣和) 1st " 9th "
36. do. do. 6th " 1st "
37. do. do. 7th " 9th "

38. The emperor was addicted to Taoism, so the title given him really made him head of that sect.

39. "T'ung Chien" Ching K'ang (靖康) 1st year, 1st month.
40. do. do. 1st year.
41. do. do. 1st " 7th "
42. do. Chien Yen. 1st " 4th "
43. do. do. (建炎) 1st " 5th "

NOTES ON CHAPTER XXX.

1. According to Liang Ch'i Ch'ao the original edition comprised 130 vols. Later these were reduced to 130, and then 100, and now there are only 24. But the reductions were not necessarily due to elimination of material necessarily, but to rearrangement.
2. This is noted separately, not because it comprises fresh work from the pen of Wang An Shih, but because it is valuable for the commentary and Introductory matter. The modern edition of Wang An Shih's complete works, (above) does not contain the Introductions found in this edition of poetry only, and the poems comprised in the modern edition have no commentary.
3. Now only 16 vols with two additional on the "rtificer's Record. This however comprises all that is found in the Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu.
4. Prose Works Vol. 16.
5. As this is an Anthology only, and not original work, it is not included in Liang Ch'i Ch'ao's list of Wang An Shih's works, as given in Chap. 20 of His Life of Wang An Shih. ^{we} mention it here however as the work is extant, and ~~shows the trend~~ ^{illustrates} of his choice of poetry.
6. Found in the prolegomena to the Poetical Works. (See under Note 2 above). Translated in this Work. See pp.
7. See Chinese Biographical Dictionary. (中國人名大辭典) in loco.
8. i.e. the Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu, of which the Index or Synopsis is termed the Ssu K'u Ch'uan Shu T'i Yao. (四庫全書提要)
9. The edition of fifty volumes of poetry, No. 2, in the list of Works, as given above.
10. Chinese Biographical Dictionary.
11. Referring to the proposed Imperial Collection of literature attempted in the period 1111-1113.
12. Also known as Li Shih Lin. (李石林)
13. Also known as Liu Ch'en Kung. (劉辰翁)
14. Found in edition of poetry of fifty vols, mentioned above.
15. do. do. do. do. do.
16. viz., His ~~Hsuan~~ T'ang Pai Chia Shih. (唐百家詩選)
17. See Introduction of Wu Ch'eng, found in Complete Works. (under Note 1 above.) (麻沙) (建陽縣)
18. Chin Ling refers to modern Nanking. Wa Sha is. (沔陽) (沔陽縣)
19. Chinese Biographical Dictionary.
20. Found in edition of Complete works, referred to under 1. (above.)
21. do. do. do. do.
22. Chinese Biographical Dictionary.
23. i.e. Ch'eng Hao. (麻沙) (程顥)
24. i.e. Lu Hsiang Shan. (陸象山)
25. Found in Complete Works, modern edition, referred to under 1. (above)
26. Chinese Biographical Dictionary.
27. See below.
28. The same as Liu Ch'en Kung. (劉辰翁)
29. i.e. Wei Liao Kung. (魏了翁)
30. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p. 331, where he also states that the 100 vol. edition includes the material comprised by the older edition of 130 vols.
- 22a. ~~Yung Hsi Min~~ (楊希閔) states in the Addendum to Ts'ai Shang. Hsiang's Work, that Chang Ju Ming (章汝明) also wrote an Introduction to this edition. As free use of this Introduction has been made in the chapter on Wang An Shih's policy it is not reproduced here. See Chapter XXXIV.

1. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, summarised from pp. 320-324.
2. Chow Kuan Hsin I (周官新義) Introduction by the author. (自序)
3. Chow Kuan Hsin I (周官新義跋) Addendum to the Work.
4. Cf Wylie, History of Chinese Literature, p.5., where he says:-
 "In the eleventh century a minister under the Sung, named Wang Gan Shih, introduced some changes in the system of levying duties, and rested them on the authority of the Chow Li. The countenance which this unpopular measure seemed to receive from the Chow Li, drew forth much opposition, in the way of counter-exposition, and afterwards led to the declaration, on the part of the literati generally, that the work was unworthy of credit: while one Hu Gan Kuo (胡安國) declared that it had been fabricated by Lew Hsin, for the purpose of supporting the pretensions of the usurper Wang Mang. These opinions were widely received until the time of Choo He (朱熹) who investigated anew the claims of the Chow Li, the result of his researches being to confirm the view that the work was composed by Chow Kung, or some sage during the Chow dynasty. Since that time, the question of genuineness may be considered as set at rest, scholars with slight exception giving in their adherence to the views promulgated by Choo Foo Ysze.
5. E.G. Chu Hsi (朱熹) Complete Works, Vol.59.p.25.
6. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 323.
7. I have found no reference to the burning of the blocks in the T'ung Chien, although Liang Ch'i Ch'ao says that this was done during the 1st year of Yuan Yu. Under the 1st month of the 2nd year of Yuan Yu, there is a note of the banning of Wang An Shih's New Interpretations and Dictionary ^{on the} grounds that they included many Buddhistic ideas, and ~~had been used exclusively~~ ^{use had been} to the detriment of orthodox teachings.
 (See Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 197.)
8. Prose Works, Vol.20.p.14.
9. Prose Works, Vol. 20.p.13.
10. T'ung Chien, Ching K'ang (靖康) 1st year.
11. Prose Works, Vol.16.p.17.
12. Prose Works, Vol.17.p.31.
13. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao pp.323-9.
14. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.329.
15. Prose Works, Vol.15.p.4.

16. 大神者昊天也。夏曰昊天，則帝與萬物相見之時，故王所祀者昊天而已。五帝則五精之君，昊天佐之。凡在天者皆神也，故昊天為大神。凡在地者皆示也，故大地為大示。神之字從示從申，則以有所示無所屈故也。示之字從二從小，則以有所示故也。效法之為坤，言有所示也。有所示則二而小矣。故天從一從大，示從二從小。從二從小為示，而從一從大不為神者，神無體也。則不可以言大神無數也。則不可以言一有所示則二而小，而神亦從示者，神妙萬物而為言，固為其能大能小，不能有所示，非所以為神。惟其無所屈，是以異于示也。

16. (Cont)

By the "Great god" is meant the "vast heaven", and by the "vast heaven" is meant the "Summer Season", for that is the time when God (帝) and Nature are observed (to be in mutual contact). This is the reason why the emperor worships vast heaven and that alone. The five gods (五帝) are the "essences" of the five regions, who are the cooperators with vast heaven. All that are in heaven are termed "gods" (神) and so vast heaven is termed the "great" god.

All that are related to the Earth are termed "shih" (示) or "manifestations". So the great Earth is termed the Great Manifestation.

The character "shen" (神) is composed of the two elements (示) and (申). The reason for this is that the gods have something to give forth, and never "withhold". (i.e. they manifest their nature without restraint.) The character "shih" (示) is comprised of the characters (二) "two" and (小) "small". This is because it too has something to "manifest". But that which is of the nature of imitation is termed "k'u n" (坤) (another term for earth) by which is indicated that what is manifested in the case of the earth is relative (二) or "secondary" and of lesser import (小).

The character for "heaven" (天) is comprised of the characters "i" (一) which denotes "priority" and "ta" (大) which denotes "greatness". The character (示) as remarked above, is comprised of (二) "secondary" and (小) "small". The latter is termed "shih" or manifestor, but the great priority (天) is not termed "god" (神). The reason for this is that "gods" (神) have no visible form so that the expression "great" (大) cannot be applied to them. Again "gods" have no numerical significance and so it is impossible to use the expression (一) of them.

That which has something to manifest is termed secondary and small and the "god" (神) character also comprises the character (示) "to manifest". That is so because "God" is more mysterious and wonderful than "nature". (萬物) By this is meant that "gods" can be "great" and can also be "small" (i.e. they have the capacity for massive and minute manifestations) and because that which cannot manifest itself cannot be termed "god" (神). But "God" withholds nothing, and in this He differs from the Earth spirit. (示)

Translator's note. The above will serve as an instance of Wang An Shih's interpretation of characters, in which he definitely differs from the "Shuo Wen" interpretations. It also serves to suggest that Wang An Shih was feeling his way towards a really spiritual conception of "God", as being behind and above, while yet within the visible and material universe. Without form and without number, suggests a truly spiritual conception, but one could have wished that he had been clearer in relating "Shen" which seems to be a generic term for "spiritual intelligences or entities" to (帝) "Ti" which he uses as the "great Ruler of Heaven".

17. See Prose Works Vol.16. e.g. his (易說論, 卦名解, 易象論解, & 九卦論)
18. The Kua Ming Chieh (卦名解) Prose Works, Vol.15.pp 8 & 9.
19. Dynastic History of Sung, Vol.202, I Wen Chih (藝文志) Section 155. p.2.
20. Dynastic History, Life of Wang An Shih.
21. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.331.
22. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.330.
23. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao pp.330-1.
24. The Introduction is by Yang Kuei Shan (楊龜山) a great opponent of Wang An Shih, see Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.331.
25. Prose Works, Vol.13.p.3. at the end of the letter.
26. And yet in his essay on Human Nature (性說) he says that the work of Tso Ch'iu Ming is unreliable, at least in one particular.
27. Makers of Cathay, p.110.
28. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.320.

Notes on the Character of Wang An Shih. Chapter xxxiii.

1. In the "Pien Chien Lun" (辨姦論) said to be by Su Hsuan. But see below.
2. By Huang Lu Chih (黃魯直) a contemporary, famous poet and calligraphist.
3. See Prolegomena, Life of Wang An Shih, according to the Histories.
4. See Chap. 2 p. 7.
5. do. 2 p. 5.
6. do. 3 p. 9.
7. do. 3 p. 8.
8. do. 6 p. 23.
9. ~~Works~~ vols p. 19 end of letter no 1.
10. ~~do~~ chap. 2 p. 6
11. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p. 46.
12. do. p. 46.
13. See Chap. 4 p. 16 & 17.
14. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p. 46.
15. See ~~Chap~~ ~~Works~~ Vol 18. p. 7.
16. do. 7 p. 45.
17. Prolegomena p. 31
18. do. p. 32
19. It is doubtful whether Lu Kung Chou ever recommended Wang An Shih.
20. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ping, 2nd year, 6th month.
21. Shao Cheng Mao was an infamous official of the State of Lu, who was executed by Confucius during his term of office as Minister of Crime. It is reported that Confucius said of him, "He has five evil characteristics, each of which is worse than robbery. He has a vicious mind, his will is set on doing evil, he is a clever liar, versed in wickedness, and a rank hypocrite." (Quoted from the Chia Yu 家語).
22. Lu Ch'i was a minister of the times of T'ang Tsung, He was a very eloquent man, of simple appearance, but treacherous disposition. He was very autocratic and self-opinionated. He inaugurated a system of taxation, based on the number of rooms and the area of land possessed. He created general turbulence at Court, and rebellion on the borders. (From the Ts'u Yuan)
23. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, pp. 253-255.
24. ~~See Chap.~~ Prolegomena p. 32.
25. Works, Vol. 9. p. 13. especially No 11.
26. See Chap. Prolegomena p. 32.
27. do. Chap. 35 p. 340.
28. do. // p. 68.
29. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ping, 5th year, 8th month.
30. Li Lin Yu, a member of the royal family of T'ang, very influential at Court during the reign of Hsuan Tsung, (A.D. 713-755). Seemingly mild, he was a very specious and cunning man, who held strong views on political matters.
31. See Prolegomena, Life of Wang An Shih according to the Histories.
32. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 10. p. 1.
33. Wang Yen, a native of Chien Yang (晉陽) who attained to the rank of minister of Education (司徒) in the times of the Western Chin Dynasty (西晉) A.D. 265-313. He was a man of great repute, both for high intelligence & administrative ability. But he was specially renowned for his versatile mind & ready wit, being so it is reported, particularly skilled in changing his ground. When 'cornered' in debate. (口中雌黃) He is also said to have had a predilection for the teachings of the Buddhists & Taoists (T'zu T'ien) (Biographical Dictionary)

34. Three clever officials of Ch'i Hsuan Wang. (B.C. 633-641)

and of his successors Hsiao, and Chao. (B.C. 641-611). I Ya was the notorious cook of Huan Kung, of whom it is related that he offered his own child and cooked him for his master. K'ai Fang Shu Tiao and I Ya formed a conspiracy later on and set up Chao Kung after killing the son of Hsiao Kung.

35. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 10. p. 7.
36. do. Vol. 10. pp. 9 & 10.
37. do. Vol. 10. pp. 10 & 11.

38. Appendix No. 2

39. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 23. pp. 2 to 5.
40. For complete translation see Chap. 26 p. 215.
41. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 240.

42. do. p. 241.

43. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning, 2nd year, 9th month. (賢而懷)

44. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 233.

45. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol. 23 p. 5.

46. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 241.

47. See Chap. Prolegomena p. 24 & 29

48. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 237.

49. Complete Works of Chu Hsi, Vol. 59. p. 17.

50. Complete Works of Hsiang Shan, Vol. 19. pp. 7 to 12. ^{51a These are different designations for Chang}

51. do. do. Vol. 19. pp. 7 to 12. ^{Chang Ping, Liu Hui and Liu Hsien}

52. Complete Works, of Chu Hsi, Vol. 59. p. 22.

53. Works Vol. 10. p. 4.

54. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 13. (智不足以知人) also works vol 15. p. 12. (險詖常出於交游之厚)

55. do. p. 294.

56. do. p. 297.

57. This is confirmed by Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol. 59. p. 3.

58. Works, Vol. 10. p. 13.

^{58a} Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p. 285

59. Works, Vol. 17. p. 7.

60. "T'ung Chien" Hsi Ning, 2nd year, 6th month.

61. do. do. 2nd " 3th "

62. do. do. 2nd " 3th "

63. do. do. 3rd " 1st "

64. do. do. 3rd " 2nd " , also 10th month, and

65. do. do. 4th " 4th "

66. do. do. 3rd " 3rd "

67. do. do. 3rd " 4th "

68. do. do. 3rd " 4th "

69. do. do. 3rd " 7th "

70. do. do. 3rd " 10th "

71. do. do. 4th " 5th "

72. do. do. 2nd " 10th "

73. Works Vol. 12 p. 4

74. See Chap. 35 p. 336.

75. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 3rd year, 2nd month.

76. Works, Vol. 12. p. 3.

77. Works, Vol. 19. p. 1.

78. "T'ung Chien", Hsi Ning, 4th year, 6th month.

79. Works, Vol. 16. p. 4. ^{59a Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol 16. p. 4.}

80. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 4th year, 6th month.

81. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang. Vol. p.

82. T'ung Chien, Ying Tsung, 4th year, 3rd month.

83. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p. 265.

84. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 5th year, 3th month.

85. Works, Vol. 21. p. 5.

36. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 6th year, 4th month.
37. do. do. 3rd " 2nd "
88. Works Vol.10.p.17.
39. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.270.
90. do. p.270.
91. do. p.270.
92. do. p.270.
93. See Chap. p.
94. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.270.
95. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 4th year, 3rd month.
96. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.263.
97. do. p.3.
98. See Chap. p.
99. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.101.
100. do. p.102.
101. Works, Vol.17.p.31.
102. Works, Vol. 10. p.19. (地閑祿厚非分所宜)
103. Works, Vol.24.p. 17.
104. Works, Vol.23. p.29.

Notes on Reform Policy. Chapter XXXIV.

1. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Discussion on Wang An Shih, Vol.59.
2. Journal of North China Branch of Royal Asiatic Society. Article on Wang An Shih by Dr. J.G.Ferguson, Vol.XXXV.
3. Dynastic History of Sung. Shen Tsung Chi Tsan. (神宗紀贊)
4. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.100.
5. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.102. *5^a dicto.*
6. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.248. See also T'ung Chien, Yuan Yu, 1st year, 4th month.
7. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.105.
8. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol. 59.p.24.
9. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.109.
10. The Chinese Revolution, by A.N.Holcombe.
11. See Chap. *Polemomena* p.17.
12. See Chap.7 p.36.
13. See Chap.9 p.56.
14. See Chap.11 p.69
- 14.a. See Chap.9 p.56.
- 14.b. See Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Nov.1930. Article on the "Economic Significance of the Mineral Wealth of China", by John W.Frey.
15. See Chap. 15 p.132
16. See Chap. 15 p.139
17. See Chap. 15 p.17^a *Ta Ch'ang Hsiao memorial see Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol.16. P.3-5*
18. Works, Vol.10. pp.2 & 3.
19. Works, Vol.13. p.9.
20. Works, Vol.15.p.2. (收功於異論之後) (賜元豐勅令格式表)
21. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.64.p.11.
22. i.e. Ch'eng Tzu (程子).above.
23. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.127.
24. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.127.
25. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.64. pp.9 to 11.
26. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 2nd year, 9th month.
27. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.129, Quoted from Chu Hsi, "Chu Tzu Yu Lei". (朱子語類)
28. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao.p.128.
29. Works, Vol.17.pp. 22 & 23.
30. T'ung Chien, Yuan Feng, 8th year, 12th month.
31. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.135.
32. "Times Weekly", May 23rd 1929. Speech to the City of London.
33. "Sphere", March 22nd 1930. Article on "Russia To-Day.Back to Serfdom."
34. Dynastic History of Sung, "Shih Huo Chih" (食貨志) Vol.123. . Section 3. p.10.
35. "Makers of Cathay". Allan. p.103.
36. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol.7.p.4.
37. Works, Vol.17.p.21. (論茶法)
38. Annals of the American Academy. Nov. 1930. Article on the "Public Administration of Salt in China" by Esson M.Gale.
- 38.a. See Appendix.No.3
39. Article on Wang An Shih, by Dr Ferguson, as above.
- 39 a. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.59.p.18.
40. See Chap.14 p.77.
41. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, pp.156-8.
42. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao.pp. 155-6.
43. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, pp. 161-3.
44. Dynastic History of Sung. Vol.137. Sect.140..1.

45. Dynastic History of Sung, Vol.192. Sect.145. VI. iii.
46. do. do. do.
47. do. do. do.
48. do. do. Vol.192. Sect.145.p.10.
49. See Chap. 14 p.116
50. See Chap. 14 p.114
51. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.133.
52. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.64. p.19.
53. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.190.
54. Outlines of Chinese History, by Li Ung Ping. p.130.
55. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 2nd year, 3rd month.
56. do. do. 2nd " 10th "
57. do. do. 3rd " 8th "
58. do. do. 4th " 3rd "
59. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.207.
60. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 4th year, 8th month.
61. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.213.
62. T'ung Chien, Yuan Yu, 8th year, 9th month. (舉邊砦之地以賜西夏)
63. T'ung Chien.
64. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, pp.215-220.
65. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, ~~5th year, 11th month~~. 6th year, 2nd month.
66. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, pp. 223-226.
67. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 8th year, 11th month.
68. See Chap. *Polysynema*. p.41.
69. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.224.
70. T'ung Chien.
71. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.64. ~~pp.15 & 16~~. p.12.
72. See Chap. 7 p.29 Memorial of a Myriad Characters.
73. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.64. pp. 15 & 16.
74. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.245.
77. Poetical Works, Vol.1.p.1.
78. Poetical Works, Vol.1. pp.1 & 2.
79. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.247. referring to the times of Ying Tsung.
80. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. p.248.
81. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.62.p.34.
82. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.59. p.24.
- 82.a. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.62. p.32.
83. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, "Shou Chuan" (卷首) Introduction to Works of Wang An Shih, by Chang Ju Ming, p.4.
84. As 83. pp.1 - 3.
85. Chu Hsi Complete Works, Vol.62.p.32.
86. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.59.p.3.
87. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol.6.p.15.
88. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Tsa Lu (雜錄) Vol.1. p.13.
89. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 1st year, 11th month.
90. do. do. 2nd " 9th "
91. do. do. 3rd " 2nd "
92. do. do. 3rd " 9th "
93. do. do. 4th " 4th "
94. do. Yuan Feng, 8th " 4th "
95. do. do. 8th " 5th "
96. do. do. 8th " 5th "
97. do. Yuan Yu, 1st " 4th "
98. See Chap. 33 p.270
99. T'ung Chien, Yuan Feng, 8th year, 4th month.
100. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.275. (太皇太后以母改子非以子改父)
101. T'ung Chien, Yuan Yu, 1st year, 2nd month.
102. do. Hsi Ning, 3rd year, 9th month.

103. Works, Vol.13.p.8.
104. T'ung Chien, Hsi Ning, 3rd year, 4th month.
105. do. do. 9th " 10th "
106. do. Yuan Feng, 1st " 6th "
107. do. do. 5th " 4th "
108. do. do. 8th " 7th "
109. do. do. 8th " 7th "
110. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.290.
111. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.294.
112. Works, Vol.13.p.9.
113. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.127.
114. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.127.
115. T'ung Chien, Yuan Yu, 1st year. 3rd month.
116. do. do. do. & Liang Ch'i Ch'ao.p.150
117. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Tsa Lu (雜錄) Vol.1.p.12.
118. Chu Hsi, Complete Works, Vol.62.p.31.
119. do. do. Vol.62.p.32.
120. do. do. Vol.62.p.33.
121. do. do. Vol.62.p.33.
122. do. do. Vol.62.p.33.
123. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, "Chuan Shou" (卷首) (玉照新志二則)
124. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang, Vol.24. p.7.
125. do. do. Tsa Lu (雜錄) Vol.1.p.10.
126. T'o K'o T'o probably took this extract from the commentary in the T'ung Chien, under date recording Wang An Shih's death in the 1st year of Yuan Yu, 4th month. I have not been able to trace this extract, or the one which immediately follows it in the T'ung Chien, in any of Chu Hsi's works. Normally one would expect to find such a statement in his chapter on Wang An Shih, Vol.59 of his Complete Works.

NOTES ON CHAPTER ~~xxxx~~V.

1. See Chapter 3. P.11.
2. LIANG CH'I Ch'ao. 註 p.312.
3. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao pp.317-318.
4. do. do. p.313.
5. do. do. p.319.
6. "T'ung Chien" Ts'ung Ning 4th year, 1st month.
7. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.312.
8. Dynastic History of Sung, "Pen Chuan" Life of Wang An Shih.
9. (太子中允)
10. (侍講)
11. Shang Yang (商鞅) famous statesman and legalist of the State of Ch'in (秦) supreme in the time of Duke Hsiao. B.C. 360-336 whom he inspired with an insatiable ambition. He showed him that the coveted imperial throne of the fallen Chow dynasty was not beyond his reach. He introduced for him certain radical reforms and made a new code of laws whose chief feature was relentless severity, and whose only aim was the attainment of wealth and power for the state. In short, it may be said, that it was Shang Yang alone who started the ~~kingdom~~ dukedom of Ch'in upon a path of expansion and conquest, and laid the foundation for the final triumph of the so-called First Emperor. (秦始皇帝) B.C. 220-209 On the death of his master Duke Hsiao in 338 B.C. Shang Yang was compelled to flee for his life, on the advent of the heir-apparent, whom he had seriously offended by punishing and branding his tutor and guardian for failing to keep his young charge within the limits of his duty. He fled to the state of Wei (衛) which he had formerly attacked, and by sheer treachery had compelled ~~it~~ to cede a large slice of territory in order to ennoble himself as the Prince of Shang. (商君) There the injury he had done to it was still fresh in the memory of the people, and he was driven back again to the country from which he had just fled. It was on this occasion that he was caused to taste the bitterness and severity of his own laws. He was refused shelter in an inn because, as the innkeeper pointed out, he had not, in accordance with his own regulations, provided himself with a passport. A little later he was caught and put to a terrible death. Thus ended the career of a genius, as pitiful as it was meteoric. From Ancient Chinese Political Theories. by K.C. Wu, who summarises his political policy in the phrase "It had been Shang Yang's whole scheme to make fighting and farming, the only source from which fame and profit can be made to light upon the people." P.173, op.cit.
12. See criticism of Liang Ch'i Ch'ao (below)
13. ~~"T'ung Chien"~~ Dynastic History of Sung, Pen Chuan, Life of Wang An Shih. See Chapter *Prolegomena*.
14. See Chapter
15. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao pp.312.-313.
16. Shao Pai Wen. (邵伯溫) whose reputed authorship of the "Wen Chien Lu" (聞見錄) in which these extracts referring to Fang are found, is doubted by Liang Ch'i Ch'ao. It is suggested that his son Po (博) wrote this work after his father's death, in the year 1132, when the whole literary world was opposed to Wang An Shih, and when it seems feasible to surmise that Po sought in this way to curry favour. Anyway it is thought improbable that a man of Shao Pai Wen's character would descend to such base slanders as this work contains.
See Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, p.315.

17. Works, Vol.15. pp 21 & 22. See also Works Vol.10.p.11, where in his letter appealing that Wang might be allowed to refuse the appointment of librarian to the Lung T'u Ko, Wang An Shih refers to the prolonged illness of his son.
18. As further evidence of Wang's good character Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, cites the silence of Lu Hui and others, on the ground that those who were so ready to vilify the father would certainly have taken advantage of any serious flaws in Wang's character to dilate upon them. (See Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.316, also Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol.13.p.14.)
19. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao p.317.
20. Pen Chuan, Biography of Wang An Li.
21. Works, Vol.23. pp. 4 & 5.
22. The "Wei Yang Kung" (未央宮) located near Hsi An Fu.
23. Fu Chien was the first ruler of the Former Ch'in Dynasty, one of sixteen states in the Western Chin period. The Former Ch'in Dynasty was inaugurated in B.C. 361.
24. Works, Vol.15. pp.2 & 3.
25. Pen Chuan, Life of Wang An Shih.
- 25.a. Ts'ai Shang Hsiang Vol.13.pp.12 & 13, discovers three different sources for this supposed incident, all differing from one another in details. In the "Tung Hsien Pi Lu" of Wei Tao Fu, it is related as having occurred between Wang An Kuo and Lu Hui Ch'ing in a discussion as to the propriety of ministers of State composing love songs. In the "Wen Chien Lu" of Shao Pai Wen, it is related as having occurred between Wang An Shih and Wang An Kuo, in connection with the latter's flute playing during a conversation between the former and Lu Hui Ch'ing. In the "Su Shui Chi Wen" of Sou Ma Kuang, it is related to have occurred in correspondence between Wang An Shih and Wang An Kuo during the latter's term of office at Lo Yang, in which there is no reference to Lu Hui Ch'ing's resentment against Wang An Kuo's innuendo. In the "Ming Ch'en Yen Hsing Lu" of Chu Hsi the incident occurs as included in the Sung Histories which probably copied it from that work. But in this ^{account} the incident shows signs of being a collation from two of the former writings, viz., the "Su Shui Chi Wen" and the "Wen Chien Lu."
26. Works, Vol.23. -pp.4 & 5.
27. Pen Chuan, Life of Wang An Shih.